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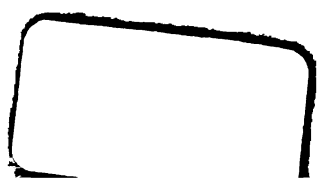
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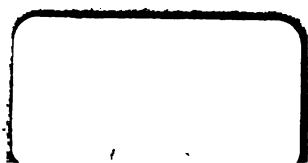
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THE STANDARD

PUBLISHED TO PROMOTE ETHICAL THINKING
& TO ENCOURAGE BETTER WAYS OF LIVING

FIFTH ANNIVERSARY NUMBER

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BY FELIX ADLER

A LUSTRAL NUMBER

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INTERESTING SUMMER ENTERPRISES

BY FRANKLIN C. LEWIS, BENJAMIN C. GRUENBERG,

ANNIE S. BROMLEY, WALTER W. ELLIOTT,

S. BURNS WESTON, PHILIP KIND

and HENRIETTA J. KULTCHAR

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THE STANDARD

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THE STANDARD

VOLUME VI, NUMBER I

JULY, 1919

A LUSTRAL NUMBER

THE STANDARD published this midsummer number for two reasons. The first is to bring the attention of its readers more closely to the summer activities of the Societies. Because our Sunday exercises are suspended from May to October, it does not mean that our ethical convictions are in a state of suspended animation, or that we aestivate, as bruin hibernates, to come forth for the next winter's moral drive. There is no break on the second Sunday in May in our concern for the increase of every good cause which we have advocated since the second Sunday in October. We need go to no farther remote teacher than that very indifferent pedagogue St. Tammany to learn that eternal alertness is the price of triumph.

Besides emphasizing the continuity of our ethical program, this number has the further purpose of celebrating the completion of the fifth year of THE STANDARD. It is already a truism (but a truism whose tremendous truth will grow on each succeeding generation) that the five-year period since the outbreak of the War of the Nations has been the most momentous period in the history of mankind. In the extent, the depth, and the rapidity of the changes which it has brought it makes such epochal movements as the French Revolution look local, superficial, and slow. Men stand aghast at the havoc and wreck of the world they knew but

yesterday: the political world with its empires shattered, its kings in exile, its crowns and scepters in the ash heap, and new states rising phoenix-like from the ashes; the economic world with its paralyzed industries facing demoralized markets, its transportation systems crippled, its labor uncertain whether to wreck the pillars of society or to work for mounting wages to build their foundations anew—halting between Catiline and Gompers; the financial world with its debts in some parts approaching fifty per cent of its wealth, and its currency and prices so inflated that neither bears any assignable relation to values. All these problems, which our age, at least, considers the major concern of men, are challenging the skill of the experts of reconstruction. And we can but wish them all success in their mighty task.

But deep down below the "practical" measures of the statesman and the economist, and, we believe, in the long run conditioning their success, is the ethical question of the spirit in which men face this crisis and this task. How shall punishment be made healing and peace go hand in hand with her sister righteousness? How shall mercy temper justice, and hate be rebuked in the counsels of peace as it was condemned in the conduct of war? The short-sighted clamor for vengeance only; the wise will desire reconciliation through justice.

The peoples of antiquity performed

many lustral, or purifying, ceremonies with water and fire, sacrifices, incantations, processions, and mysteries. Three occasions especially called for those rites: contact with the elemental facts of death and life in touching a corpse or bearing a child; awe in the face of an overwhelming disaster like defeat in arms or the raging of a plague; and preparation for a great undertaking, like the dispatch of a military expedition or the foundation of a great public work. Every fifth year, when the census (*lustrum*) was taken, the Romans purified the entire city by the lustral procession of the sacrificial pig, sheep, and bull about the walls.

This is the world's lustral year. During the quinquennial period just past, its hands have touched many awful forms of death, it has seen its cities and fields mercilessly devastated, and now comes

the blessing of the banners of its crusade for recovery—a sorer task perchance than even the battles in Flanders and France.

It shall be our lustral year, too, as we labor to purify our hearts and minds of all that poisons justice and corrodes righteousness; as we gird our loins to serve this crying age by speech or silence, by act or patience. No one man or nation shall redeem the world. As of old the least of the people brought their stone of offering to build the cathedral of the community, so to-day it will be through the sum of countless contributions of men of good will that the edifice of a fairer temple of humanity shall rise. Whether our contribution be small or great the gods, not we, decide; but small or great, if it is our best, it is indispensable. D. S. M.

AMERICAN JUNKERS AND BOLSHEVISTS*

BY JOHN L. ELLIOTT

MUCH of the intense excitement that centered around the contending armies seems to have transferred itself to the struggle now going on between opposing ideas. These ideas find their representatives and adherents not in different nations but in groups that are in the same nation. Class consciousness as well as national consciousness has been greatly intensified by the war. In Russia the class struggle seems to have actually become war. In Germany the Socialists are in control. In England trade unions have formed themselves into what promises to be the most potent influence not only in determining the political but also the economic policy of the nation. In America, while no one is far seeing enough to hazard a prediction, nearly everyone is expecting a period of unrest and of struggle.

Between classes, as recently between nations, the greatest misunderstanding exists. It is not only national boundaries and national consciousness that keep men from understanding each other's purposes. Dangerous misunderstandings can exist between people of different groups in the same nation and the same city—between groups having ideas which, if carried to their logical conclusion, are bound to lead to strife.

I have called the opposing groups in this country American Junkers and Bolsheviks. I have only used these terms as the newspapers use them—in a loose way—but I do nevertheless believe that in America there are classes contending for privilege and classes contending for radical and fundamental changes, that may fairly be described by these terms.

To understand how these extreme groups think we have to try to under-

* An address delivered before the Ethical Societies of New York and St. Louis.

stand how any group comes to think as it does. Have you ever found yourself in a company of physicians and felt yourself to be an outsider with respect to their essential thought and life? Is it not true that whether they will admit it or not there is a sort of tacit understanding among them that their aims and purposes are really the most important in the world? They are of course courteous as to the opinions and aims of others but it seems as if there were an understanding among them that in the last analysis everything must be secondary to their work. Is it not so with the other groups, the lawyers, the engineers? This may seem like a trivial matter but practically it is not trivial.

For the past six or seven years I have been associated with a large group of printers and while we get on amicably enough it has been repeatedly made manifest to me that I never can be really one of the fraternity because I cannot set type. I am not of the trade. And is this not true of each of us? Do we not belong to some company, usually some group of workers who have read the same books, who have the same purposes, whose vital interests are the same; and although it may never be expressed, perhaps would never be admitted, is it not true that there is the groundwork of common belief that our work is the most important in the world?

Each aggregation of human beings, especially if it is intensified by organization, is likely to regard itself as the leading and probably the dominating group by virtue of something very much like divine right. Or, if not by divine right, then by a sort of natural right. In America it has been the great captains of industry who, on the whole, have been the dominating and controlling factor in our recent history, and it seems to me natural enough that they should come to believe that they are the proper persons to control national affairs. America has succeeded not by virtue of anything so much as by the power of her great executives. I do not mean to say that all business men in this country are Junkers or reactionaries. I know well enough that

this is not true. But I do mean to say that it is from the class of business and political executives that our Junker group is recruited, just as it is from the laborers that our extreme radicals or, as the papers call them, our Bolsheviks, are recruited. And each of these groups has the feeling that it is supremely in the right and that its purposes ought to become universal.

It is unfortunately easy in this country, perhaps in others, for some one class or set to capture the machinery of government and conduct it for its own interests—at least in the interests of its own ideals. We have just had a demonstration of this sort in the methods by which prohibition has been foisted on the country. For many years I have believed in prohibition,—believed in it entirely, as I still do,—but I find myself bitterly opposed to the methods that have been used by a small but effective organization to browbeat legislatures into submission. If prohibitionists can command so great an influence it is not difficult to understand how other and more important interests can do it. The representatives of great business interests, for instance, being exceedingly capable men, and believing themselves the only proper custodians of national destiny have, for many years, been able to influence legislatures and federal departments in exactly the same way. It is true too that organized labor has, more particularly during the war, exerted the same kind of authority and influence. Whenever either one of these groups gets into control it unfortunately gives, by its extreme action, a certain degree of confidence to its opponents. It is the extreme reactionaries who foster the extreme radicals and it is the extreme radicals who give a *raison d'être* to the reactionaries.

Of course when anything is done in this country it is always done in the name of freedom, democracy and law, but in reality it is very likely to be done in the interest of some small group in the community. We grow very tired of this false terminology, approaching sometimes very close to hypocrisy. The pirate Hawkins was no less a pirate because he gave some

of the jewels which he stole to his queen to be worn in her crown, and the murders and conflagrations that he caused were not essentially affected by the fact that he called his ship "The Jesus."

Profiteers of the last war have been notoriously loud in their proclamations of patriotism. I was a good deal interested in a little leaflet that came into my hands the other day called "The Oath," beginning with the lines,

I will not drink from a German cup,
Nor eat from a German plate,
Nor deal with any German man,
So foul with German hate.

The oath went on to pledge never to drive with a German screw-driver nor hammer with a German hammer nor use any German nails. The purpose was rather difficult to understand until one saw at the bottom that it was gotten out by a prominent hardware association.

I trust that I shall not be misunderstood as indicating that patriotism is hypocrisy. But I do very earnestly wish to emphasize the fact that some activities and some laws calling themselves patriotic are hypocritical. Far more than any conscious deception is the tendency of special groups to use the machinery of government, of religion, of education, of the press, in their own interests. It seems natural for any group when it gets in control of the forces and the sanctions of government to use the position which it holds temporarily in a repressive way. In the midst of the Civil War Lincoln said, "It is difficult for government to be strong enough to defend itself and not too strong for the liberties of the people." The government of the United States has shown itself amply able to defend itself but we have seriously to ask the question if it has not in some instances gone too far for the liberties of the people.

We have had violent outbreaks of what has been called war hysteria, both in the pulpit and in the newspapers. Is it not a strange exhibition to see a minister of the Christian church, a professed follower of the teachings of Jesus, writing a new dec-

use the old one was not

severe enough? Jesus declared himself a pacifist as clearly as language could proclaim it. He also taught the love of all mankind, and yet his followers have vied one with another in preaching a doctrine of hate and destruction. If one can find such perversions of intelligence among the religious teachers, we need not be surprised at finding it in the newspapers that have deserted their old professions of giving all the "news that is fit to print" and followed the practice of giving all the news that they see fit to print.

Far more serious is it, however, when this spirit touches organized city or national activities. A large number of teachers have been dismissed from the public schools—some of them perhaps for good and sufficient reasons but many of them on the shoddiest of pretexts. There has been an organized attempt to rid the public school system of all teachers who do not hold orthodox political opinions, and to-day the administrative powers, particularly the Immigration Department, are being used to deport those who hold certain opinions and who never have committed an overt, illegal act. It is a strange thing in America to have men, sometimes even American citizens, deported because of their opinions. Recently there were brought to Ellis Island about fifty men who were deported because they were members of the I. W. W. I have not had the opportunity of knowing at first-hand the record of all of them, but I have known of the record of at least thirty-eight. While the newspapers proclaim them as criminals, degenerates and men of the worst type, investigation proves that only one of the thirty-eight had any criminal record whatsoever and he had committed a robbery when in the state of intoxication and long before he became a member of the I. W. W. party. They were mostly men with a clean record. They had, however, all of them admitted their membership in a certain political party but there was no record of crimes which they had committed, and they were not men of bad character. They did belong to that "homeless, jobless, womanless class" which we

have in this country, but for this they were not being deported. They were being sent away because they had joined the party which is attempting to voice the sufferings of their class. The point which I wish to emphasize is that these men had committed no crime and were being deported purely on the ground of beliefs.

The spirit and methods of repression have grown dangerously in the United States during the war, and the spirit of understanding or of a desire to understand the great body of people living in this country seems to be lessening. One of the most marked examples of this occurred in New York State when the Assembly refused to vote a dollar to take up the admirable work of the State Reconstruction Commission but voted a huge sum of money to have some of the members of the Legislature visit the larger cities and investigate Bolshevism.

Unfortunately our country is sometimes given to extreme violence. What else do the lynchings mean? And this violence is bound to be excited by such words as were recently spoken by a judge in New York City, sitting in his official capacity. A foreigner who understood so little English that communication had to be carried on through an interpreter, was charged with having refused to buy a Liberty Bond and with having used unpatriotic English expressions at a moving picture entertainment. From the bench the judge said to him, "You ought to have been lynched and if the lynchers had been brought before me I would have discharged them with my commendation." In a country given to violence these are dangerous expressions. I believe it is not too much to say that very often the newspapers, the schools, the pulpits and even the judiciary have been tools in the hands of what we may call the Junker group. And the danger to the peace of this country seems to me to be manifest.

I want to make this plea, that we should learn to discriminate between a criminal and a radical. It may be that some of the radicals, so-called Bolsheviks, are criminals. It is true that every great movement, particu-

larly every great war, produces criminals. The names may not be known in the east, but in the west and south the terms "bushwhacker" and "jayhawker" are a terror to this day. They stand for groups of men who followed the armies of both the north and the south, preying on the defenseless population, especially in the border states. They were criminals of the worst type. Sometimes they called themselves unionists, sometimes secessionists; but they were really robbers and murderers. War, being a resort to force by the strong, naturally brings a resort to force by the morally weak. But this does not excuse a nation for failing to make a distinction between crime and radicalism. It is a strange thing that in Fort Leavenworth conscientious objectors have been chained to the doors because they would not take life while standing in the same corridor were men who were in prison because they had taken human life. It is a strange thing that there are political prisoners in America. To me the term "political prisoner" is not new. I met it first many years ago in Germany when as a student I was making a study of their prison system. They seemed willing that I should go everywhere and see everything. I saw the cells out of which men never came except with black masks on their faces. I saw the great hospitals for insane criminals. I saw the blocks over which the men were stretched for punishment and the whips with which their flesh was beaten into a bloody mash. All these things they did not seem afraid to show me, but there were certain doors that were never opened—certain faces that I never saw. They were those of the political prisoners. But now those doors are open, those political prisoners have been released. And what do they find? The nation that imprisoned them is broken and destroyed. Some of them were perhaps the very men who might have saved Germany, if they had been freed. I am afraid for the life of any nation in these days that has political prisoners and I plead again for the distinction between crime and radicalism.

The conviction of Mr. Debs unde-

the Espionage Act will not end but probably stimulate discussion. As Mr. Debs has been tried under the Espionage Act, so the Espionage Act is likely to be tried in the light of the life which Mr. Debs has lived. Men will see in him the kindly old man, hating violence, and loved passionately by his fellow citizens. No conviction can stop men from thinking and the discontent with such legislation as the Espionage Act is bound to grow and become ever intensified.

If we turn to the other side and ask who and what the Bolsheviks are we shall have a great deal of difficulty in finding an answer. There is, of course, no real Bolshevik group in America. Besides those calling themselves anarchists, there is a very numerous discontented group, but of any large organization of radicals, even of liberals in this country, it is difficult to find even a trace. To find any true Bolsheviks we have to go to Russia and it may be instructive to pause for a moment and ask what is the groundwork of Bolshevism or radicalism in other countries? It is impossible in so short a space to give any adequate description, and sketches are bound to be more or less untrue, but I believe there is at least an essential truth in the statement that much of the radicalism that exists in the world to-day has been very markedly influenced by the Communist Manifesto. Seventy-five years ago Marx said, "A spectre is haunting Europe. It is the spectre of communism." And this spectre has surely not been exorcised in three-quarters of a century. As the Communist Manifesto was read in different countries it produced different effects. In the Latin countries its influence was combined with the doctrines of philosophic anarchy, and we can trace the effects of both in Syndicalism. In England one of the chief results of Socialism was to produce the Fabians who have been, and are, among the leaders of thought and, to-day, of action in Britain. The political action of the unionists through the British Labor Party has been deeply influenced by the work of the Communist Manifesto, which has acted through

and been immensely changed by the English thinkers.

In America the Socialist movement has always been weak and has, as yet, played but little part. Better economic conditions and the dislike of abstract theory, may in part account for it. In Russia the influence of Socialism is more potent than in any other country. It has not produced the sort of effect which Marx would have predicted, but it has nevertheless exerted a tremendous influence. Back of Lenine is the mind of Karl Marx, and the ideas of Lenine are largely the ideas of Socialism, but the course of events has been influenced too by the social conditions.

Whenever I think of Russia I think of Tolstoi and what he has told us of conditions in the army—that whenever there was an outbreak among peasants and soldiers the whipping rods were used. They whipped men in Russia, and human beings can never be whipped with safety. It is not the suffering nor the torture that brings revolt, but the indignity. It is not the outrage to the body but the outrage to the mind that is the cause of rebellion and wherever human beings are subjected to such indignity, no matter what form it takes, revolt will follow, and it cannot be suppressed by bayonets nor by prisons. If bayonets and prisons had been effective the old Russia and the old Germany would still be standing. Repressive measures alone cannot keep the peace either in Russia or anywhere else, and we find as an answer to the prisons and the whipping posts, the Bolshevik doctrine.

The best description of what the Bolsheviks really are I find in a little book by Trotzky called *Our Revolution*, translated and edited by Mr. M. J. Olgin. The ideas which this book contains are well worth our study, even though we do not agree with them. For myself I find much in the purposes of the Bolsheviks with which I can sympathize, but nothing in their methods. Their purposes stand in strong contrast to the existing conditions which we know. However we may describe in words our ideals and purposes, we have in America the

rule of the strong. The strong individual, whether his power comes from native ability or from inherited opportunity, is the one who enjoys such blessings as wealth and position can give. The strong or fortunate individual can climb to or stay at the top, but comfort, ease, security, culture, despite all our protestations, are not for the mass. If anyone thinks that this is not true, let him remind himself of the facts by a visit to the tenement house districts of any city in America.

As over against our western ideals the Bolshevik says, "No. The strong individuals have had their way long enough; we speak for the masses. The most important thing is the mass culture." The Bolsheviks have given to the world something called Slavic Socialism that is well worth our understanding. They are terribly in earnest. Let no one make the mistake of thinking that they are only users of terms. When they speak of labor dictatorship they mean just what they say—and they mean to keep this dictatorship if necessary, by force. While the word Bolshevik means majority, they claim that even if they were a minority they would have a right to seize the government and conduct it in the interest of the workers. This is the dangerous doctrine and this is the dangerous practice—the ideas of dictatorship and the use of violence. But even this must not blind us to their real purposes.

We must learn to see the radical, the fundamental truth about our own democracy. We have long enough been deceived. I was talking the other day to an old soldier, a man who loves his country as he loves nothing else on earth and he showed the deepest feeling when he said, "I would not willingly give up my faith that this is a country in which any boy can get all he needs for a good life." But that faith is manifestly untrue. The facts are against it. Even Lincoln gave expression to the same thought when he said to the returning soldiers, "That I stand here as President of the United States is proof that any of your sons may stand here." While such a statement is true in one sense,

it is misleading in another. We cannot have and we do not want *any* man as president of the United States. We have believed one thing in this country and acted another. We have said that any, and interpreted it to mean every, man can live a decent life, and many have been satisfied because some individuals lived it. Slavic Socialism proclaims and strives for the rights of every man and every woman. They want justice for all, not only opportunities for some. They make a terrible indictment against our government and our society. It is not only an indictment, it is a veritable challenge, for the Bolsheviks have gone into action. It is this that has disturbed the world, that has put the writing on the wall that runs from Vladivostok to the Rhine. And opposed to this challenge we often find impotent good wishes. We often think ourselves good just because we have a pious wish that everyone should be happy. When I asked a small boy the other day what his wishes were he said, "To have a gun, a field gun and a siege gun, and to make everybody happy." This in many ways is a typically American wish.

I have so often called attention to the conditions of work and living about us that it seems almost like an impertinence to do it again. I only wish to speak now of those conditions that I believe are dangerous to the government. Just as whipping was dangerous and degrading, so are the working conditions in most of the factories of the United States. Can we suppose that men will preach and practice political democracy and never have it go over into that which is of equal importance to them, their economic life? To have millions of men practically under the control of a few masters, their jobs, their livelihood dependent on the irresponsible will of an employer, is not democracy. Will either those who have been born here or those who have been attracted from afar, be satisfied with political democracy and economic serfdom? We all know that there are vast numbers of human beings living in the cellars of tenement houses in all the great cities, existing down there with the rats and

vermin and sewage in conditions that are degrading, and we call them American homes. I have known more than one working woman who was driven into depression and brooding, and finally took refuge in suicide just because she was separated from her children whom she could not support. These cases are not common but they are far too frequent. Unless the situation is fairly met by something besides repressive measures, neither this government nor any government can or should continue.

American business men are less alive to social conditions and their remedies than are English business men, just as American trades unions are behind English trades unions. During the war England has developed great housing plans that find no parallel in America. In response to the Whitley report, English industry is embodying far more democracy than we can lay claim to. Here and there we find enlightened employers but they are very few and we have no great labor statesmen from the ranks of the unions. We need men to do for America to-day what the Whitley Commission did for England. We need an American labor program of which there is not as yet the faintest outline. These things can and surely will come to America but their beginnings are not yet.

I have spoken before of the great benefits that might come from a co-operative movement. Here we shall find a true if not a radical democracy. Men will say, "What can Ethical Societies do in this situation?" The British Ethical Societies have shown themselves to be sensitive to the moral questions of the day by petitioning the government for the release of conscientious objectors. No word yet has come from American Societies and perhaps among us there is not sufficient unanimity to take any action of this sort. But I know that among us there are many earnest men and women who not only are willing but who actually are devoting the best part of their lives to working out plans and methods for a state and national housing reform, or, as it

should be called, a home reconstruction.

There are some employers who have made themselves actual labor leaders in their own factories. There are some who are seeing to it that so far as in them lies there shall be as little as possible of the slow starvation that we call malnutrition. How can one overrate such service, for to-day we are on the high watershed of time? Beyond us are the plains of peace and the Maelstrom of war, and which it shall be for us will have to be determined by social action in the not distant future. We do not want Bolshevism with its labor dictatorship, with its hampering of labor and production at the very time the world needs the full output of every factory and every farm. We do not want the Bolshevik methods of violence. We do not want the blind worship of the mass and the disregard for the rights of the individual. If we wish to stand more truly for justice for the great majority, we dare not forget how much the world owes to the individual thinkers, the saints and the martyrs. Lowell has told us:

Where to-day the martyr stands
On the morrow crouches Judas with the
silver in his hands.
Far in front the cross stands ready and the
crackling fagots burn
While the hooting mob of yesterday in
silent awe return
To glean up the scattered ashes into history's golden urn.

The head of one of the Bolshevik Commissaires in his earlier days wrote books on the worship of the people—not the worship of the good in all men, not an attempt to realize the uncommon good in the common man, but the worship of people just as they are, worship of people like you and me. Could anything be more misleading? Could anything be more ridiculous? The divine thing is not what we are in ourselves; the precious thing is the power to live in the lives of others, to admit the bonds between the highest and the lowest. Lincoln is the American hero because he admitted and proclaimed the bonds between himself and the slave. Jesus is worshipped as divine and he admitted the bonds be-

tween himself and the woman taken in sin.

If it is not Bolshevism, neither is it individualistic democracy as practiced among us that can meet the ever-growing restlessness and discontent that begins to surge about us. We must have our American labor program, our reconstruction commissions that are not trampled upon by legislatures and congresses, and in time there will come a new manifesto which will have in it much of the Communist Manifesto but it will have much more, and when the time comes

for that new manifesto it will go into the factories and it will not only change the wages but the faces of those that tend the flying wheels. It will go into the schools and will produce citizens as our schools now so often produce self-seekers. It will go into the homes and make more sacred the name of father and mother, husband and wife. It will go into the houses of religion and it will make better the lives of such people as you and me, make better the life of all mankind.

THE PESSIMISM OF MARK TWAIN

BY HORACE J. BRIDGES

WE ARE greatly indebted to Mr. Albert Bigelow Paine for his *Life of Mark Twain* and the two volumes of *Letters* that he has edited. The biography has many of the qualities which make the work of Boswell unique. If there is a faint infusion of that too passionate and indiscriminating loyalty which sometimes makes the zeal of Boswell funny, one cannot complain, since without the temper that produces such excesses the biography could scarcely have been as valuable as it is.

That Mark Twain was a great and good, an admirable and a lovable man, to whom the whole world owes a debt unpayable and ever to be gratefully acknowledged, is a proposition which surely will find no questioners. But he was not a god or a superman. Of his work we may say, as Whitman said of his own, "Who touches this touches a man." But to be a man is to have limitations. The secret of true appreciation is to be able clearly to see and rightly to value the distinctive excellence of a man; to love him for what he is and can do, not to disparage him for what he is not and cannot do. To ascribe all perfections to any man is a form of admiration which betrays its own critical worthlessness. Discrimina-

tion along with catholicity,—these are the two great qualities necessary to citizenship in the Republic of Letters.

When, therefore, Mr. Paine, not content with claiming for Mark Twain the many rare and enviable distinctions to which he is justly entitled, insists upon declaring that "he was one of the foremost American *philosophers* of his day," we feel that Mr. Paine is unwittingly doing a disservice to the great man whom he so rightly delighted to honor. It is as though one should acclaim Mr. Edison as a poet, or insist that Grant was a great architect. The condition of winning supremacy in one field is inability to compete for it in others. It is nothing against a great soldier that he is not a good architect, or against a great scientific genius that he is not also a poet. And when we decline, as we must, to accept Mr. Paine's rating of Clemens as a philosopher, we are not attacking Clemens; we are really defending him against an unintentional attack.

Mark Twain was the greatest humorist and satirist who has yet lived in America. As a humorist he has not been surpassed in any age or nation. He was a splendid patriot, as he proved by his strenuous resistance to the jingoisms and corruptions

of his day. He was a man of infinitely loving and tender heart. He was a passionate idealist, so exquisitely sensitive that he suffered almost to the point of heartbreak over evils to which the thicker-skinned mass of us are conveniently insensitive.

No man was ever franker than Clemens in his insistence upon human limitations. His characteristic way of expressing it was to declare that on some points we are all insane. He even went the unusual length of admitting that, inasmuch as other people's religions seemed absurd to him, his own religion also was probably absurd. We shall surely display a lack of humor unbecoming in readers of Clemens if we forget these generalizations, and fail to realize that Clemens too had his eccentricities, his whimsies, and certain mental shortcomings which must frankly be set in the balance against his customary strong sanity and his superb geniality and loveliness.

One small but illuminating example of this weak side of Mark Twain is his essay entitled *Is Shakespeare Dead?* It is a dogmatic affirmation that Shakespeare did not write his own plays and that Francis Bacon did write them. It betrays a surprising unfamiliarity with Elizabethan literature in general, and with the works and mind of Bacon in particular; and it rests upon *a priori* and question-begging arguments which would serve just as well to prove that Mark Twain could not have been the author of his own works as they serve to prove that Shakespeare did not write his plays.

Clemens here was naively trusting the very unsafe guidance of Mr. George Greenwood. The danger of faith in authority could hardly be more grossly exemplified.

Now, the tendency to dogmatize on insufficient evidence, to credit oneself with greater knowledge and competence than one really possesses (although they in no wise spoil the kind of work in which Mark Twain was distinctively excellent), are very serious obstacles to the working out of a satisfactory system of religion or philosophy. And if a man does not work out his religion and philosophy for himself, but buys them ready-made on the world's great bargain-counter, these peculiarities of mind are dreadfully apt to

make him choose an ill-fitting system and to mistake attractive-looking shoddy for genuine wool. One cannot avoid the feeling that it was this rather headlong temper which accounts for the system of pitch-black pessimism professed by Mark Twain. He had followed, with the intelligent interest of an open-minded layman, the general trend of the scientific development of his time, but he had not penetrated the metaphysic which is implied in that science, or questioned any of its provisional working assumptions. Not only had he failed to envisage these problems, but he was apparently unaware that in this region there existed any problems requiring solution. He thus discloses the characteristic defects of an undisciplined mind. He had never opened the first page of Berkeley or Kent. In fact, concerning the problems of philosophy, Henry Adam's poignant phrase hits him: he was "ignorant that there is a thing called ignorance."

It is best to recognize this frankly, while continuing to insist that his lack of training and skill as a philosopher is nothing against Mark Twain. And certainly, while we reject his pessimism, we must recognize that the intense sensitiveness to suffering and evil which led him to it was altogether honorable, and was a part of the very power which enabled him so wonderfully to experience and convey through his books the abounding joy of life. His brother Orion, in a letter written at the time of Henry Clemens's death in 1859, said with acute insight, "Sam's organization is such as to feel the utmost extreme of every feeling."*

The characteristic thus discriminately indicated by Orion Clemens is the secret not only of Mark Twain's pessimism but also of his wonderful power. It is this skinless sensitiveness that makes the humorist and satirist as well as the pessimist. Black cynicism is the danger that besets the path of all men gifted above their fellows with insight into the incongruities that make life funny. The case of Swift compares instructively with that of Clemens. Behind Swift's mask of cynicism, there lurked an unusually sensitive and tender heart; as witness his love for Stella and his regard for Arbuth-

* A. B. Paine, *Mark Twain: A Biography*, vol. III, p. 1592.

not and a few other select friends. The *sæva indignatio* that tore Swift's heart (as his epitaph reminds us) represents the souring of a superabundance of the milk of human kindness. Contrast the earlier pages of *Gulliver* with the nightmare fury of the Fourth Part, and you see the peculiar peril that besets the satirist,—the peril to which both Swift and Clemens at last succumbed. The man who begins by laughing good-naturedly at the foibles and inconsistencies and minor insincerities of the human race, is in danger of ending, as Swift ended, by regarding the human race with fierce hatred, thinking of them as noxious and deadly vermin, morally lower than the very brutes. This is the final judgment of Clemens as of Swift, and that frightful picture of the Yahoos is scarcely more repellent than the condemnation of mankind in *The Mysterious Stranger*.

Even Shakespeare incurred this danger; but his magnificent spiritual constitution was strong enough to carry him through the disease and enable him to regain his moral health and balance. In his early comedies we have the mood of gayest laughter, such a mood as inspires Mark Twain at his kindest and best. But in a few short years the bubbling fun of *Love's Labor's Lost*, *Twelfth Night* and *Much Ado About Nothing* is displaced by the misanthropy of *Coriolanus* and the shattering desolation of *Lear*. Had Shakespeare died after writing *Lear*, we should have been tempted (despite Kent and Cordelia) to suppose that his final mood was that of Swift in the Houyhnhnms and of Clemens in *The Mysterious Stranger*. But, happily, *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest* are there to testify that a beautiful and serene sunset succeeded the lurid storm of Shakespeare's mid-years.

Unhappily, with Mark Twain the last thoughts were the bitterest. True, his theoretical despair of mankind came early, and there are traces of it in his brightest books; but it is nevertheless painful to contrast *Huckleberry Finn* and *Tom Sawyer*, and, above all, that most buoyant and joyous of books, *The Innocents Abroad*, with *What is Man?* and *The Mysterious Stranger*. This last (posthumous) publication has been got up by the publishers to look like a book

for children. There is no book in the world that I should be more pained to see a child reading.

It may be superfluous to search through Clemens's career for experiences explanatory of the estimate of human life which he finally accepted. The fact that others, whose gifts were like his, have arrived at similar conclusions, suggests a correlation between the springs of satire and of pessimism; suggests that mockery of folly has a natural tendency to grow into frenzy against fools; and that Clemens would have ended as he did no matter what his personal experiences might have been. Nevertheless, two episodes in his early career seem to have furnished the occasion which made him intellectually conscious of his native leaning to misanthropy and pessimism. One of these was his association in 1857 with the Scotchman, Macfarlane. This man was of a type not uncommon among the working classes of Great Britain, and, for that matter, by no means unparalleled among the working class in any western land during the nineteenth century. He was a reader of serious books, and had argued himself into atheism, materialism and determinism. During the months that Clemens lodged with him in Cincinnati, he expounded this body of beliefs to Clemens with marked force and ability, with the result that whatever of Christian teaching Clemens had imbibed in boyhood was driven out of his system, and he embraced the beliefs of his friend which he held substantially to the end of his life. All that he retained of his youthful religion was the mere word God, which, in his use of it, never means anything more than the word Nature; except, indeed, when he uses "God" as a stick to beat the last dust of moral credit and self-respect out of the human race in the dialogue called *What is Man?*

The other episode was the tragic death of his brother Henry as a result of the burning of the steamship *Pennsylvania* on the Mississippi in the year 1858. We need not narrate the circumstances. They are well known, and are fully and clearly told by Mr. Paine.* Clemens blamed

* Mark Twain: *A Biography*, Vol. I, pp. 139-144.

himself for his brother's presence on the ill-fated ship, and still more for his rashness in urging an inexperienced medical student to administer to the suffering boy a guesswork dose of morphine, which was probably excessive, and may have been the cause of his death. With the curious illogicality of the good-hearted determinist, he abhorred and anathematized himself for these events, over which, of course, according to his philosophy, he had no control, and for which he could not possibly be responsible. If he was right in his excessive self-condemnation, his determinism obviously hasn't a leg to stand upon. But, characteristically enough, it was through this experience that he developed into a conscious fatalist.

Mark Twain regarded the world as a vast machine and man as a little machine within it. Man is a complex piece of mechanism, actuated exclusively by external causes, which he is as powerless to resist as an aeroplane or a printing press.

It follows that there neither is nor can be any such thing as the smallest grain of freedom for man. The category of causality is applied to man's entire life, physical, volitional and intellectual; and causality means always the impact and operation of external stimuli.

The universal characteristic of mankind is selfishness. It is impossible for any human being to perform an act which is not more gratifying to himself than any of its possible alternatives. Every act is the inevitable and only possible resultant of the motive dominant at the moment of its performance. Hence there can be no such thing as self-sacrifice in the strict sense. Men may perform acts involving much unpleasantness, but only if they thereby gain a pleasure greater (*i. e.* more satisfying) than the avoidance of the act or the performance of some other would have entailed. It is a case of number one, first, last and always. If the conduct most pleasing to number one happens to be good and beneficent, the man deserves no credit; if it happens to be bad and maleficent, he deserves no blame.

Clemens continues, as we have seen, to speak of God; but by that term he means simply the unknowable energy that

sustains the universe. If this energy is personal (and he sometimes seems to imply that it is), it is nevertheless as indifferent to man as man is to the micro-organisms in his body. God does not mean Providence. He, or It, does not stand in any ethical relation to man. His ways are not man's; neither are His ends.

Inasmuch as it is impossible for man to possess any moral worth or achieve any moral desert, the only thing that a rational being can long for is death. Life is a scene of perpetual, unmitigated, irremediable frustration. The nature of man is corrupt at the root, and there is no salvation possible for him. Clemens' doctrine, in short, is Calvinism minus the arbitrary grace that (according to the sixteenth century) plucked a few brands from the everlasting bonfire. Expressions of this conviction abound in Mark Twain's works. A very pathetic one is the little fairy tale entitled "The Five Boons of Life." Another is the story—strangely regarded by some readers as a peculiarly fine expression of Mark Twain's fun—called "The Man that Corrupted Hadleyburg." Careful reading shows the meaning of that story to be essentially the same as that of *The Mysterious Stranger*. The man who sends the temptation to Hadleyburg does not corrupt it; he only tears the mask from a city already corrupt, and proves that there is in that city "none righteous, no, not one."

Such were the views held with steadily increasing conviction by the greatest of American humorists. He began to put them in writing as early as 1883, but did not make them public until 1906, when a small edition of *What is Man?* was printed for private circulation in America, and another by the Rationalist Press Association in London. This dialogue contains hardly a trace of the wonderful humor which we expect from Mark Twain. It is a cold, clear, prosaic summary of the gospel of mechanism, fatalism and pessimism. Had it been published without his name, and had we not the disclosure of the facts in Mr. Paine's biography, few readers would have detected from the style that it was the work of the author of *The Innocents Abroad*.

Clemens in this dialogue makes out his case by the old-fashioned process of chopping man up into little pieces and then representing each of the pieces as an independent, external force acting upon the man. The argument may be summarized thus: There is the man *and* his will *and* his mind *and* his temperament *and* his motives. External causes act upon the mind, which can do nothing but receive impressions passively. Although Locke and Hobbes and Hartley are not cited, the reasoning is identical with theirs. The mind is a shaven tablet or a photographic plate. The impressions it receives act upon the will, which necessarily responds to the strongest of them, like a scale-pan when a weight heavier than the counterweight is placed upon it. Temperament means an aboriginal tendency to cheerfulness or melancholy, which cannot possibly change, and remains unaffected by the impressions made from without upon the mind and the decisions forced through the mind upon the will.

The logic, as we have said, is old and familiar. It cannot be refuted so long as its premises are accepted; but the premises are a series of question-begging assumptions. That man is a machine is an assumption, not a piece of knowledge. If he is a machine, of course he can respond only to stimuli originating elsewhere than within himself.

If it were worth while to controvert this position, one might begin by asking how such a theory could account for the infinite variety of responses to the same stimuli. When it is said that man is "what heredity and environment have made him"—or in other words, as this theory says in effect, that there is really no such entity as a self,—how is it proposed to account for the incredibly different products of the same heredity and the same environment? Why should there be such a difference, for instance, between Samuel Clemens and his brother Orion? Were they not children of the same parents, descended from the same ancestors, born and reared in the same *milieu*? Whence the startling unlikenesses of mind, character and temperament often found in twins, who are physically almost indistinguishable?

"Heredity and environment" is a good

mouth-filling phrase. It has saved so many people the irksome labor of thinking, providing them with an inexpensive philosophy that makes them intellectually comfortable, that it seems a bit brutal to put it under the microscope. Unfortunately this must be done: with the disastrous result that "heredity and environment" turns out to mean—other people; your ancestors and your neighbors. That a man does not make himself, but is made what he is by heredity and environment, amounts to saying of each man, "He makes others; himself he cannot make."

There are two characteristics common to all machines. The first is that they are planned and designed, by a mind or minds, as means to a definite foreseen end. The other is that they always react in a specific way to a given stimulus. It really is not possible to declare man a machine without being logically forced back to that very belief in teleology, in a personal designer or designers, which the mechanistic philosophy was intended to exclude.

But, as Mr. Paine well says, Mark Twain did not live by his philosophy. One appeals from the thinker to the man. Clemens's whole life proves that man is not fundamentally and incurably selfish. His never-ending spontaneity of wit, his genius and loving-kindness, cannot by any logic be squared with his theoretical fatalism. Of the many recorded facts that might be brought to prove this, let it suffice to refer to the fashion in which, when already an elderly man, he assumed the entire burden of the debt incurred by his bankrupt business enterprise. His creditors would gladly have accepted a composition which, while depriving them of part of their due, would have spared him infinite labor and trouble. He insisted, however, upon paying in full; and, as we all know, traveled around the world, enduring the unspeakable drudgery of a prolonged lecturing tour, to earn the money. At the dinner of the Lotos Club, held to celebrate his return, the toastmaster, Mr. Frank Lawrence, evoked great applause when he said, "We hail him as one who has borne great burdens with manliness and courage, who has emerged from great struggles victorious." Clem-

ens characteristically replied as follows: "Your president has referred to certain burdens which I was weighted with. I am glad he did, as it gives me an opportunity which I wanted—to speak of those debts. You all knew what he meant when he referred to it, and of the poor bankrupt firm of C. L. Webster and Company. No one has said a word about those creditors. There were ninety-six creditors in all, and not by a finger's weight did ninety-five out of the ninety-six add to the burden of that time. They treated me well; they treated me handsomely. I never knew I owed them anything; not a sign came from them."

He might have said, if challenged, that it *pleased* him most to pay in full, whereas his creditors *pleased* themselves by not insisting upon payment. Since this pleasure was the strongest motive in each case, neither party was free or truly unselfish. But then, what was he praising his creditors for? And what is meant by freedom? Clemens' reasoning always implies that freedom means power to jump out of your skin, to cease to be yourself; power to do acts which are not your own acts. He condemns all deeds as selfish because they are the doer's own and are those which the doer prefers to perform.

But to imply that in order to be free the self would need the power to become not-self, is surely question-begging. Who ever meant this by freedom? Is not a theory indefensible which needs such a definition to sustain it? Freedom is the power to do what one sees ought to be done. That man would be free who, conceiving what his course ought to be, was able to overcome all the resistances, within himself and in the outer world, that hindered him from conforming his conduct to his standard.

Clemens's logic destroys his own conception that man is a machine, by showing that man is truly self-determined. It is fantastic psychology to strip off successively the mind, the will, the temperament and the motives from the self, and then represent all these as external determinants tyrannizing over the self. It is not that man *has* a mind; he *is* a mind. It is not that he *has* a will; he *is* a will. His motives are the self-en-

gendered resultants of his mind and will. What Clemens calls the "interior master" or "the tyrant" is the true self. You may call it, if you will, the "transcendental ego." You may deny its existence, because you cannot identify it with any phase of your empirical ego. Please remember, however, that it is the "transcendental ego" which makes the denial of its own existence, and repels identification with any one or all of its empirical manifestations. To say, then, that conduct originates with this inward tyrant is but to say that conduct is self-originated; which is the condition and the definition of freedom.

No man is perfectly or completely free. Freedom (as my lamented friend George Burman Foster used to say) is not a gift; it is an achievement. The whole of life is a struggle after freedom, in which the largest attained measure of victory has been gained by the human race. That we have attained it is not disproved by the fact that we must needs work upon data supplied through the senses; it is proved by the fact that we respond in a myriad different ways to the solicitations of the sense-data.

But the best refutations of Mark Twain's gloomy doctrine are his own life, and the writings that were not produced under the influence of his philosophical nightmare. It is idle to tell us that the only boon for man is death, and then to give us *The Innocents Abroad*, *The Tramp Abroad*, *Roughing It*, *Tom Sawyer*, and *Huckleberry Finn*. We feel that the real truth about Clemens was what he wrote to his friend Dr. Brown, in Edinburgh: "If there is one individual creature on all this footstool who is more thoroughly and uniformly and unceasingly *happy* than I am, I defy the world to produce him and *prove* him. In my opinion, he doesn't exist." *

The note of Mark Twain's spirit, of his work and of his life, is the note of joy: a huge, abounding, all-engulfing joy that swallowed up, subdued and transformed all the sorrow that came into his life. One might, without irreverence, write on the flyleaves of his collected works, as the summary of their purpose and effect, the words of the

* Paines' *Mark Twain*, Vol. I, p. 505.

fourth Gospel: "These things have I spoken unto you that my joy might remain in you, and that your joy might be full."

His passionate resentment of the suffering that came to others and to himself is the index of the exceptional happiness which he customarily enjoyed, and which furnished the background of his sorrow. When such a man tells us that it is a crime to bring children into the world, and that death is the only kindness, the only thing to hope for, we find ourselves asking in shocked surprise what would have happened if his parents had acted on this philosophy of collective suicide. How much poorer the world would be without his contribution to its joys! Would he have been willing to miss the adventure of life, the wonderful friendships, the years of blissful marriage, the inexpressible ecstasy of his relation to his children?

I have more than once heard persons who professed Mark Twain's philosophy admit that they could not apply it to life or justify their conduct in accordance with it. Does not this shatter the philosophy? A system that contradicts the most ordinary facts and fails to account for the most universal experiences can-

not well be true. The wise course is to listen to the real Mark Twain—the man who testifies to his thorough and uniform and unceasing happiness, and substantiates his testimony by pouring his strong, abounding joy into those works by which he has substantially increased the joy of all the world.

But happiness is not the last word, not the true test. What of the far more sacred experiences, shot through with sorrow—such as the influence of the dead Olivia Clemens upon the life of her husband? His theory pronounced that life was to be measured by its result in happiness, and condemned because there was so much unhappiness. But had he been asked whether he would exchange the sacred sorrow of the memory of his dead wife for all the happiness his heart could imagine, we know that he would have answered, "A thousand times no."

The worth of life, then, lies in things which are higher and holier and more precious than happiness. And we all actually do value these things more, however much our philosophy may pretend that we do not. Thus the good of our lives outweighs all the ill; and to have known and loved a spirit like Mark Twain is "part of our life's unalterable good."



CITY BOYS WORKING AT THE HUDSON GUILD FARM

INTERESTING SUMMER ENTERPRISES

Members of Ethical Societies Engage in a Variety of Activities at Farm, Camp, and Play Schools, Co-operative Store and Settlements

A Farm That Re-creates

BY WALTER W. ELLIOTT

ALTHOUGH comparatively a new-comer, the farm has already established its position as an essential member in the Hudson Guild family of activities, because it provides a wonderful opportunity to do the thing which the Guild stands for, namely: to help others to help themselves.

For a long time prior to 1917, the workers at the Guild had felt that the summer places for the older members were unsatisfactory. At the seashore resorts there was a greater amount of the same kind of amusement that people usually found in the city, but no opportunity such as a vacation should provide for a healthful experience in a new and healthful environment. The signs pointed to the country, and into the country we went, looking for the place that should meet our needs. At Netcong, New Jersey, we found it. Mr. John T. McRoy, the former owner of what became the Hudson Guild Farm, had chosen a very beautiful spot in the hill and lake country of Northern Jersey, where he built a country home. Had we consulted with him on the arrangements, they could hardly have been better suited to our use. A large, well-built house, with carefully planned grounds, stands on a knoll overlooking the beautiful woods-bordered valley. Several old farmhouses form a good nucleus for a cottage colony. A dam intended to supply water power, makes an ideal swimming pool. But above all the place gives great opportunity for effective work. In its present state it will not long house and feed the people who will spend their vacations there, but in the land there are possibilities of increased food production, and in the woods and old rock fences an abundance of building material.

There is something of a parallel between the coming of the Pilgrims to America and of the Hudson Guild people to the country. The Pilgrims were looking for a kind of life that they could not find in their own country, and so are we. If we would succeed, we must have something of their spirit. That we do have it to quite an encouraging degree has been demonstrated by the experience of the past two years. Every boy and girl who has gone to the farm has spent three hours each day in doing some kind of work: the boys on the farm, in the woods, and on the roads, and the girls in the house and in the garden. A group of boys and men, working week-ends, cut down trees in the woods and helped saw them into lumber for a house. The house has been built and in every process of its construction, the boys and men helped, either on week-ends or during their summer vacations. They have worked on the farm and in the garden, building roads and fences, and in fact shown some realization that by working together they can build an ideal vacation place.

Aside from the cook, no paid house help is employed, and the cleaning, dish-washing, bed-making and preparation of vegetables is all done by the girls, who also take care of the kitchen garden which supplies the family at the farm with vegetables during the entire summer and provides a surplus for sale at the Hudson Guild Co-operative Store in New York. The girls also prepare the poultry for market, and several of them have been called upon for special work designed to keep the house in good condition. The painting and varnishing which they have done, while not professional in its finish, is very satisfactory, and is the sort of work which develops interest in the

house and gives the girls a home feeling for the place.

The farm supplies the house with milk, eggs, small fruits, potatoes and apples. Several hundred bushels of the latter were sold at the store last fall, and the entire supply of eggs for the store has come from the farm for several months past.

The possibilities for development are very great. The New Jersey State Forestry Department has inspected the timber, and pronounces it quite valuable, and with the sawmill which we own and have installed on the place, lumber for many houses can be produced. Professor George F. Warren, head of the Department of Farm Economics at Cornell University, who has visited us a number of times, says that there are few places in the country so well adapted to purposes like ours. With the natural resources and the growing spirit of co-operative work among the Guild people, surely we should be able to make the farm a most worth while enterprise. The house is equipped for steam heat, and could be made available in the winter. It would indeed be desirable to keep the place open the year round, so that it might always be used by people who have been sick and need the country.

A home feeling for the farm is growing among the Guild members. Many of the boys, just before they were drafted, came out here to spend their last few days before sailing, and we should like to have the farm help



PREPARING POULTRY FOR THE MARKET

those who have come back to retain the wonderful physical condition that the army gave them. For the city vacationer, the farm certainly surpasses the usual summer resort, in that it sends him back to his job in good shape to begin another year's work. But it does more than to recreate; it also teaches—and teaches the things most vital to a democracy: a joint use of common property; a willingness to work for a group regardless of any

direct personal reward; a responsibility on the part of the group for the individual, and vice versa. The older man puts in many a good day's work, sawing logs for a house in which some other man's family will probably live, and the younger one does the same with a very remote chance of ever using it.

It is very interesting to observe a group of people who are learning to know and to like a new kind of life—one which they not only are unaccustomed to, but are inclined to hold in contempt. At first there was some question as to whether city people would like a country vacation, but they soon learned to like it, although they have only begun to acquire any real knowledge of the country. When trees, birds and flowers come to be known as oaks and chestnuts, orioles and bluebirds, hepaticas and blood-roots, we shall begin to see and hear and understand the language of the country. We have had some instances of an almost too great interest in nature study. One boy this spring insisted on collecting bird's eggs, candling them to determine their fertility, and then putting them into the incubator to see if they would hatch. We hope to develop a mean between this extreme and no interest at all.

Five hundred people have enjoyed the advantages of the farm during the past two summers, making their contribution in labor, and going back to the city in better shape to tackle their jobs.

Starting a Co-operative Store

BY ANNIE S. BROMLEY

HOW to Make a Dollar go Farthest" was suggested by one of the members of the Mothers' Club of the Hudson Guild as a topic for discussion, when subjects for a forum were being considered. Prices had advanced so that their meager incomes were less adequate than formerly to pay the rent, buy shoes for Pat, Mike, Jimmie, John, Bridget and Mary, etc., as well as provide sufficient food. Little did that woman dream how vital her ques-

tion was, and that it would lead to the incorporation of the Hudson Guild Co-operative Store and the development of a new outlook for the tenement women of her community. These women are now a part of a world-wide movement which is destined to help solve many important questions, economic as well as social.

First a Buying Club was formed and its success was such as to warrant the hope that a store would lessen still more the economic pressure which was becoming increasingly acute. At a meeting of the Hudson Guild Clubs' Council, the trustees were asked to assist in starting a co-operative store, which they did. One of the stores in the Chelsea Homes building was rented, the women of the Buying Club volunteered their services as clerks and one of the Guild workers did the buying. At first the store was open from 9 to 11 a. m. daily, and Saturday from 3 to 5 p. m. as well.

It soon became a neighborhood meeting place, a sort of community forum where national as well as local problems were discussed (some call it gossip!). Advice and suggestions were passed over the counter with the bread and butter. Food demonstrations were held and literature pertaining to food was distributed.

Before long the customers asked to have the store remain open from 9 a. m. to 6 p. m. daily and to have the stock of goods enlarged. A clerk was then employed and the volunteer clerks were organized as a managing committee. Their interest was intensely real, and, with the experience they had gained, rendered their counsel very valuable, not only to the store but to the community generally in the furtherance of the co-operative movement. Within five months the venture proved sufficiently successful to warrant incorporation. Accordingly a public meeting was held and the store was established on the pattern of the original Rochdale Co-operative Store of Rochdale, England, the twenty-eight incorporators being the devoted men and women who had been identified with the project from the beginning. Shares were sold at five dollars each, and although many of the share

holders are poor people of the tenements they are willing, and many of them eager, to pool that amount for the common good. Interest is payable on the shares at the same rate paid by the savings banks, and profits are distributed as dividends in accordance with the total value of the goods purchased. Purchasers who hold shares receive full dividends while non-shareholders receive half the amount. At a recent meeting of the shareholders the first dividend was declared and many present voted to have

girls' clubs is making jam. All of these goods are being sold at the store.

Although the day may be distant when this society will have its own tea fields, coal mines, etc., together with facilities such as ships for transporting commodities, yet the hope has been expressed that some day it may own a Co-operative Apartment House and provide homes for many whose present abodes are not worthy of the name. Perhaps stores could be built on the ground floor where not only



A CO-OPERATIVE STORE THAT PAYS DIVIDENDS

their savings remain in the bank as a nucleus for a Co-operative Savings Bank.

The store is bringing consumer and producer closer together, by providing a market for fresh eggs, apples and other produce from the Hudson Guild Farm. An exchange has been established and the store is selling articles on commission. One woman makes delicious orange marmalade and another doughnuts, while others knit and sew; and one of the Hudson Guild

food but clothing and other necessities might be sold. Has the tenement house woman a vision? Yes!

Our little co-operative store is striving with might and main to create opportunities for working and living together—it involves a band of people who are willing to strive and study and sacrifice, who are desirous of adopting the new civilization whose keystone is co-operation (not competition), whose motto is, "Each for all and all for each."

Getting Acquainted With Our Neighbors*

BY FRANKLIN C. LEWIS

FROM the front windows of the Ethical Culture School, the prospect is fair to look upon. Central Park stretches away with its green grass, its great shade trees, its open spaces, and its ceaseless stream of automobiles. All this suggests wealth, luxury, leisure, and ease. Now from the back windows of our School, a very different prospect meets our eyes. If the view from our front windows smiles upon us, the view from the rear may be said to frown. Narrow back yards, long lines of washed clothes, and tired, poorly clad women speak of drudgery, little leisure, and restricted opportunities. It must be admitted that for the last fifteen years we have looked too much from our front windows and have not seen our opportunity and our duty beckoning to us from those frowning back yards.

At last our eyes are opened. We are going to try to do something for our neighbors and thereby do something equally worth while for ourselves. Let me mention first what we are trying to do and what we propose to do for our neighbors. We have a small neighborhood chorus. It is not much of a success. Aside from a faithful few, our neighbors don't attend. It is well known that aside from special occasions of great interest, it is very difficult to secure the interest of a neighborhood in group singing. Nevertheless, through our activity in connection with the chorus, we have discovered between forty and fifty boys of the neighborhood who want to take piano and violin lessons. As soon as the summer vacation arrives, this instruction will begin under the direction of one of the teachers of

the School. In the meantime, these boys attend the chorus every Friday evening and after the chorus play for an hour in our gymnasium under the direction of one of our senior students. This is a great boon for the boys. They are learning how to use their bodies, how to control their excitement, and how to play fair. The possibility of service along the lines of music instruction, and gymnasium exercise are limited only by the time, space and personnel at our command.

Within three or four minutes' walk of the School in the direction of the Hudson is a great colored community, embracing many thousands of men, women, and children. There is located in the midst of this community a small but excellent neighborhood house, the Lincoln House. We are co-operating with this settlement. A club of thirty negro boys under their own leader has had the use of our gymnasium once a week for basketball practice. This group of boys has behaved extremely well. They have not disturbed our serenity by a single untoward act,—a very worthy group of young men!

The young women and girls of the Lincoln House have been preparing a pageant. It has been the privilege of the head of our festivals to help train these girls. All this opens the way, we hope, for co-operation with the Lincoln House along lines even more profitable.

Next fall it is hoped that the Central Committee will authorize this School to undertake, with the aid of the Parents and Teachers Association, a number of neighborhood activities. Aside from the work already begun, we hope to have a free neighborhood kindergarten conducted by our Normal girls under the direction of one of our teachers. We hope also to offer a course of training for janitor's work to the colored men of the Lincoln House. We are equipped to offer instruction in simple plumbing, carpentry, electric repairing and elevator service as well as the less expert features of the janitor's position. Practice in the School could be a part of the training.

A third project might be an oppor-

* The neighborhood service of the New York Society for Ethical Culture is under the general direction of the Central Committee. More than one of the organizations within the Society will have a hand in this work. I, however, am qualified to speak only for that part of the work which will be conducted by the Ethical Culture School.—F. C. L.

tunity for the boys and girls of the neighborhood to come to the School in the late afternoon and satisfy their constructive instincts by making whatever they desired from a toy submarine to a toy airplane, or from a sailboat to a kite. This work will not only keep the boys off the street and satisfy their constructive instincts, but it will give us the opportunity to supplement the efforts of the public schools to teach them a little in the way of self-control, co-operation, strict honesty and appreciation.

There are many similar types of neighborhood service open to us. A course in millinery or dressmaking for young women, a course in cooking for mothers, the organization of clubs with educational and social objectives, and afternoon recreation for children are among the possibilities. Our rule will be to go slowly and not become involved beyond our powers.

And now a few words about what this neighborhood work will do for us as a School. The supreme object of our School is to prepare for social service. This work should create an atmosphere of social service in and about the School. It should furnish the opportunity also for some of the students to actually participate in such service under the inspiration and guidance of their teachers. To illustrate this point, students may take part in choruses, accompany on the piano and violin, and even in some cases help with individual music instruction. Students may also help with gymnasium play and afternoon recreation, with instruction in various forms of manual work and with club activities and in the kindergarten.

There is an obvious limit to the amount of this kind of work that any one individual can hope to do in addition to his studies, but even a little will help to create the true ethical spirit in the School, to establish a connection between our minds and hearts and the minds and hearts of those far less fortunate, and to develop the taste for the greatest of all creative tasks, that of helping to fashion men and women. Out of this should grow a compassion for those whose lives are hard, and a sense of the preciousness

of human beings irrespective of their race, color, social or economic conditions. It is said that it was Lincoln's trip down the Mississippi in his young manhood, when he came into direct contact with slavery, that set his mind and will like adamant against the institution and helped to make him the emancipator of the slaves. In a similar manner we hope that our young people, by coming in contact with the victims of unjust economic, social, and political conditions, the slaves of greed and circumstance, will set their minds like adamant against these things and, as the years go by, become in some measure at least, emancipators of their fellow men.

The Summer Play Schools for 1919

BY BENJAMIN C. GRUENBERG

THE all-day care of a considerable number of New York children was undertaken last summer by the Central Committee and the Federation for Child Study. This work, a development of the Federation's war work of the previous summer, has demonstrated the continuous need for intensive guidance and training for masses of the city's children. Some half million children in this city are practically without suitable supervision during the summer vacation, and their play facilities are far from adequate. At the same time the nutritional and health conditions are such that the reopening of schools in the fall finds vast numbers of these children in worse condition both physically and mentally than they were at the close of school in June.

These conditions require attention in peace time as well as during war, and the Federation has decided to push the experiment until it is taken over on a comprehensive scale by responsible authorities.

The Central Committee has reorganized during the winter. It voted to support two summer play schools, one at the Hudson Guild and the other at the Madison House. The need for similar work in the immediate neighborhood of the Ethical Society's building, and the availability of the Ethical Culture School suggested the estab-

lishment of a similar center there. A committee of the Women's Conference has already raised the necessary funds for this center; and Miss Emma Mueden, of the Ethical Culture School, has begun the organization of the staff and the children. It is worth noting that the women who visited the homes of the children who are to be enrolled at this center report the social and economic conditions of the district

Greenwich House, and the Emanuel Sisterhood.

It is planned, as in the past, to have a central kitchen for the preparation of the food for all the centers, and an experienced dietitian has been engaged to direct this work. The kitchen will be located in the Ethical School building. The Board of Education is to co-operate by assigning two or three vacation teachers to each of the centers. The



A PLAY SCHOOL FAR ABOVE THE CROWDED STREETS

much worse than those found in the Chelsea district.

The Federation for Child Study will continue the policy of assisting with its counsel and experience wherever its aid is desired, and will furnish professional supervision in the organization and conduct of the play schools during the summer. In addition to the three centers mentioned, four others will avail themselves of this assistance—namely, the Stuyvesant House, the Hamilton House, the

Department of Charities will furnish transportation for the children's excursions. The Board of Health will give the services of nurses needed to guard against the spread of contagious diseases, and to follow up the nutrition cases.

The medical examination of the children is being conducted by a committee of volunteer physicians under the chairmanship of Dr. Roger H. Dennett. This is a continuation of the work of the Academy of Medicine Committee on War Time Prob-

lems of Children. It is hoped this year to have "nutrition classes" at three or four of the centers.

To carry on this very important work, the Central Committee has appealed for funds for the centers which it is to support, and the Federation for Child Study has requested funds for the general supervisory expenses. There is great need, however, for much more than money. Personal services of many kinds and in almost unlimited quantities can be used at every one of the centers. Through our system of registering the time offered by volunteers we aim to assign every worker to a specified place on the program, so that the work counts. There is needed the assistance of dentists and oculists and other specialists who will give their services to the children at certain hours. There is needed material aid in the form of garden truck and other food supplies, materials for sewing, shop work, art and craft activities, games, old shoes for the cobbler classes, and so on. And there is also an opportunity for the owners of cars to assist substantially by offering the use of their cars for specified periods during the summer.

A fuller report on the work of the Summer Play Schools may be had on application to the Secretary of the Federation for Child Study. The Federation has also issued a handbook, describing in detail the organization and conduct of play schools.* The United States Bureau of Education has printed for free distribution an account of the play school as a contribution to the health and training of the rising generation. Copies of this pamphlet may be had from the Bureau at Washington, or from the Federation office.

Summer Activities of the Philadelphia Society

BY S. BURNS WESTON

FOR several years past the members of the Philadelphia Ethical So-

ciety have organized a successful series of Sunday rambles during the months of May, June, September and October, to places of historic, scientific, educational or scenic interest. From twenty-five to fifty persons join these rambles, including some who are not members of the Society, but who are frequently led to join. The freedom of unconventional intercourse and the picnic meals give an excellent opportunity for acquaintance and fellowship, different from anything else the Society offers, and in that respect alone, the rambles serve a useful purpose.

Among the places to be visited on the spring and autumn rambles this year are Penn Treaty Park, Valley Forge, and Atlantic City. The next excursion will involve a three-day trip to Mt. Gretna, from August 30th to September 1st. The following is an excerpt from the preliminary announcement of the autumn rambles:

September 7th.—*Rancocas Park.* Guide, Miss Price. Leave Market Street Wharf at 9:30 sharp. Trolley leaves Camden at 9:37 for Moorestown. Change cars at Moorestown for Rancocas Park. Fare each way, 24 cents.

September 13th and 14th.—*Point Pleasant.* Guide, Miss Morrow. This two days' outing in the beautiful Delaware Valley can be arranged better about September 5th, by consulting Miss Morrow, 5041 Hazel Avenue. There will be opportunities for visiting picturesque villages and rambling over the hills and along the canal with its shade of overhanging trees.

Among the spring rambles was one on May 25th to Camp Linden, a summer camp owned by the Ethical Society near Arcola, Pennsylvania, and used during July and August by people from Southwark Neighborhood House, in Philadelphia.

Southwark House is also one of the centers of activity for the members of the Philadelphia Society. Beginning in 1906, a number of small houses were purchased by the Society, near the Delaware river front, and a large and successful settlement was subsequently developed. The work is carried on under the direction of an association not officially connected with the Ethical Society, but of which the leader of the Society is president. The headworker of Southwark House,

* This will be mailed, on receipt of fifty cents, by the Secretary of the Federation for Child Study, 2 West 64th Street, New York City.

Mrs. M. M. Adams, the treasurer, Mrs. S. S. Fels, and two other members of the board of managers, are members of the Society.

During the summer the house is open daily, for baby clinics, Red Cross work, and the use of shower baths. A distinctive feature of the regular activities has been the Americanization work. A Polish-American Club of 120 members, including both men and women, has held educational meetings on Sunday evenings and occasional dances on Saturday nights. Two classes in English have been conducted weekly during the past season. While the Americanization work has met with a quick response from the Poles and Lithuanians, the present political and industrial unrest will necessitate the giving of the same opportunities to other large foreign groups resident in the neighborhood.

Camp Linden Affords Relief from Philadelphia's Heat.

BY PHILIP KIND

CAMP LINDEN is the most interesting of the summer activities of the Southwark Neighborhood House. It was organized in 1908, when it was deemed advisable to have some form of summer work which would prove not only beneficial to the children, in health and morals, but also provide for them an incentive, and an interest to look forward to, during the year of classes, drills and clubs.

As the Southwark Neighborhood House is situated in the center of Philadelphia's most congested district, the friends and neighbors suffer greatly during the intense heat for which Philadelphia is noted. Accordingly, Camp Linden offers, as well as the advantages enumerated above, a restful breathing space for a week at least, during the hot summer months.

During the eleven years of this activity, many changes in location have been necessary. As the wide scope of the work has increased, the requirements have become more complex. The present site was purchased some years ago. It is at an attractive seven-acre farm at Arcola, in the valley be-

tween the Skippack and Perkiomen Creeks. An old farm house makes a most suitable headquarters, or administration building.

During the second season on our present site, a summer pavilion was built and has since been used as a dining room and also as a rainy day playhouse. The acreage is in part developed for agricultural purposes and the remainder is used as a retreat for the tents and also as a playfield. In the adjoining streams, the children are permitted to indulge in boating and swimming under the most advantageous circumstances.

Camp life is observed in all its details. Four to six children are quartered in each tent; cots, blankets and the like, complete the equipment, making the youngsters comfortable and happy in their out-of-door life. The entire day and night are spent in the pure fresh air, as the tents are so arranged that complete circulation of air is assured. The Camp is supervised by experienced settlement workers from the Southwark Neighborhood House and by others who volunteer their services. The routine is arranged to give a maximum amount of pleasure to the children without neglecting their physical, mental and moral development. Even during the short period of one week, which each group spends in Camp, the results are unquestionably noticeable.

The Camp is supported by voluntary subscriptions, secured independently of the Southwark Neighborhood House. The average attendance during the summer consists of seven groups of from twenty-five to thirty children. The cost per season, is approximately \$900.00 or \$5.15 per week per child, including every item.

The twelfth season is about to be inaugurated under most favorable auspices.

Henry Booth House

BY HENRIETTA J. KULTCHAR

IN A community, a home or a settlement we find reflected the action of the world at large. Educators and teachers testified to this during the

war, when discipline was difficult to maintain. As we all turn our eyes toward the new world, we see evidences of reconstruction on every hand. At Henry Booth House in Chicago, we find an increase in all classes, a deeper desire to take the settlement as a social center, and to help reconstruct it so that it may be of more worth to the neighborhood people.

With this ideal in mind we carried on our winter work and there was a liberal response on the part of the neighborhood. Greater numbers than ever before came to the settlement, taxing our facilities to the utmost. We hope our dream of having a larger gymnasium and game room will soon be realized, as the present room is most inadequate.

Living as we do in a foreign-speaking, foreign-thinking community, we have taken advantage of the opportunity to help in the great Americanization movement, and classes in English and citizenship have been eagerly attended. In addition we have been able through our domestic science department and home visiting to bring these lessons into the life of the family as a whole.

Having in mind the brightening of our squalid district, we opened the spring and summer season by plant-

ing eighteen trees, not only in front of Henry Booth House but on both sides of the street, in front of the houses of some of the neighbors. This was not as tactful as it might seem, for we were besieged for trees from every quarter. The May festival, which celebrated the planting, was given on the street with English folk dancing and a play *The Fairies' Child* by the children's drama class. The street was lined on both sides by a most enthusiastic audience, which came from near and far. The various clubs contributed to the fund for purchasing the trees. With a view to occupying some of the leisure time of the small boys who have been a great problem, we have arranged for them to help water and care for the trees as well as for the small garden planted back of our cottage.

A worker is giving part of his time to help keep these boys out of mischief, and is arranging frequent day outings and longer trips to the country. The usual summer outings will include the mothers and children as well, and through the efforts of the members of the Women's Union and the friends of the Ethical Society many excursions will be provided.

"After July First" has become a slogan at the settlement. We hope



THE LITTLE MOTHERS' CLUB—HENRY BOOTH HOUSE

we shall be able to secure one of the near-by saloons for club rooms for the workmen of the neighborhood. Many plans have been suggested and we are preparing to meet the needs of the men with a lunch-counter, good reading matter and a graphophone. We also plan to move the billiard and pool tables from Henry Booth House to one of these club rooms.

The Little Mothers' Club which was a great success last winter will have a newly equipped room in which to meet and carry on its work. Through their play the girls are taught sewing, cooking and housekeeping. The room is being decorated and fitted with miniature furniture by Mrs. Francis

Lackner in memory of Miss Dorothy Winslow.

The Infant Welfare Society which meets Mondays and Thursdays has added a Child Welfare Association. The clinics have been very helpful to children up to six years of age. There was not only a splendid corps of nurses and doctors, but there were also skilled dietitians who gave demonstrations as to the preparation of the children's food and diet.

The work accomplished has been through many vicissitudes and as it draws to a close we feel that much has been done in spite of discouragements. A vision of what may be achieved in the future will be a constant inspiration in our work.

THE ETHICAL CULTURE MOVEMENT

Conference in the Poconos

As THE STANDARD goes to press, the Fraternity of Ethical Leaders is holding its annual conference at Griscom Hall, in the Pocono Mountains, Buck Hill Falls, Pennsylvania. For some years past, the conference has been held in the Adirondacks in September, but this year the sessions are to extend from June 26th to 30th. In connection with the conference, the executive committee of the American Ethical Union is also holding a meeting. Delegates are expected from a number of the societies, and all of the leaders, with the exception of Mr. O'Dell, who is still in the Canadian Army, are to attend.

New Society in Grand Rapids

Mr. and Mrs. George E. O'Dell will be in Grand Rapids, Michigan, during the season of 1919-1920, Mr. O'Dell having been asked to devote a year to the organization of the Ethical Society recently formed there. The trustees of All Souls Church, of which Mr. Daniel Roy Freeman was recently minister, have placed the building wholly at the disposal of the Society for the period, with hopes that this new group within the Movement may prove eventually strong enough to take over the property altogether. The small nucleus of persons who at present form the Society has great hopes of growth under its coming leadership, and it will have the cordial good wishes of all the societies for success in establishing itself as a permanent organization.

"Recognition Day"

The St. Louis Society celebrated Flower Sunday and Recognition Day on May 25th. The Sunday morning exercises in the Sheldon Memorial were very well attended and the singing was unusually fine. A new collection of twenty-two songs and hymns, recently issued in pamphlet form by the Society, was used to good advantage. The service was designed both for old and young, and a special feature was the recognition by Mr. Chubb of the graduate group from the Children's Sunday Assembly. "What an Awakened America Asks of its Young Sons and Daughters" was the subject of Mr. Chubb's discourse.

The closing meeting was held on June 1st, when Dr. Adler addressed the largest audience of the season, taking as his subject: "An Outlook on the State of Mankind—Our Fears, Our Hopes, Our Faith." At the closing social supper, which was held the same evening, with Dr. Adler present, a special reception was accorded to new members, the graduate group and returned soldiers.

Summer Activities in St Louis

An elaborate program of summer outings has been arranged by the Young People's Association of the St. Louis Society. Following the annual meeting in June, there was a week-end house party, and the annual picnic of the Society and the Children's Sunday Assembly. Among the other attractive events on the summer schedule are a Sunday breakfast in Forest

Park, a boat excursion, a swimming party, an outing to the Wabash Club and a hike through Dutch Hollow.

The older members of the Society are also planning a busy summer. For the Dramatic Reading Group and the Contemporary Literature Reading Circle there are long reading lists, in preparation for the work of the fall. Then there is to be a series of meetings and a great deal of work in preparation for the Entertainment and Sale, which is to be held from No-

greatly increased budget with little difficulty, was indicated by the reports presented at the annual meeting in May. Departing from its usual custom, the Society continued the Sunday lectures until the end of May, with good results, the audiences at the later lectures being among the largest of the year. The Sunday School, which was resumed last fall, has been characterized by a splendid spirit both on the part of scholars and teachers, and will be continued next year.



WHERE WORK IS A PLEASURE—SUMMER PLAY SCHOOLS

ember 13th to 15th. This annual undertaking is designed to help the Society financially, and also to involve as large a number of the members as possible in co-operative activity. The socializing effect of this money-raising enterprise has been, perhaps, the leading inducement for its repetition. Besides a cafeteria and restaurant, a number of booths are to be maintained. Many of the objects to be offered at the sale are to be prepared during the summer under the auspices of the Women's Auxiliary.

Chicago Notes

That the Chicago Society has gained in membership this last year, and has met a

As soon as sufficient funds can be obtained, the Society plans to rent a house outside the Loop district, with an option of purchase, in order to have a center for its various activities. The Women's Union has started a fund for this purpose.

Mr. John F. Turner, the corresponding secretary of the Society, reports that Dr. Adler's visit on May 29th was a pleasant reminder of former days, and that his earnest talk to the Society at the City Club was listened to with deep interest by the largest gathering of members which had come together for some time.

Dr. Elliott Heads Settlement Federation

At the ninth annual conference of the

National Federation of Settlements, held in Philadelphia during the last three days of May, Dr. John L. Elliott of Hudson Guild, New York, was elected president of the organization for the coming year. Dr. Elliott addressed the conference twice, dealing with the problems which will arise when national prohibition becomes effective, and with the co-operative movement in America.

The Sunday Evening Clubs

Mr. Herbert Emmerich, the new president of the Sunday Evening Clubs of the New York Society, reports that next season the clubs plan to extend their social service work, which heretofore has centered at the Hudson Guild Library, and to secure an increased number of outside speakers at the meetings. It is hoped that Society members will inform young men of their acquaintance of the work of the clubs. The regular Sunday evening meetings will be resumed in October.

The Eighteenth Season at Felicia

Felicia, the summer home of the New York Society, at Mountainville, N. Y., reopened its hospitable doors on June 14th, beginning its eighteenth season of usefulness to children from New York City. Throughout the summer, at two-week intervals, a hundred children of kindergarten age or older, will go up from the city to enjoy the abundant facilities for healthful recreation which an excellently equipped eighty-acre farm offers. Among the many organizations which provide the parties of summer visitors are Madison House, the Hudson Guild and the Haven Day Nursery. Contributors to the Fresh Air Fund Committee which finances the enterprise also have the privilege of nominating children to be sent to Felicia.

Studies in Americanization

In order to acquaint New Yorkers with the possibilities and needs of their foreign neighbors, the Study and Service Group and the Women's Conference of the Ethical Society plan to co-operate in arranging a course of lectures dealing with Americanization. The lectures will be given at the Meeting House on Friday mornings beginning in November. A comprehensive survey of the foreign groups in New York City, with a sketch of their historical backgrounds, will be undertaken. Among the speakers expected are Mr. Allen T. Burns of the Carnegie Foundation, Professor Herbert Miller of Oberlin College, and Mr. Sichinsky, secretary of the Ukrainian Federation.

Bronx Group

The completion of a successful lecture season at the Woodstock Library, and an increased membership is reported by the Bronx Group of the New York Society. A strawberry festival and dance was given by the Group in the Ethical Culture School building on June 14th.

Brooklyn Membership Increases

During the past year, the Brooklyn Society has received seventy new members. At the annual meeting in May, plans were discussed for engaging an executive secretary next year. The administrative work of the Society has grown to such an extent as to require the services of a full-time secretary. The election of trustees was postponed until the fall.

Growth of the Philadelphia Society

The Philadelphia Society, which has just closed its thirty-fourth season, has compiled some interesting statistics relative to the membership of the Society and the attendance at the Sunday morning lectures. During the first ten years of the Society's history, the average number of persons who joined each year was a little over thirty-three; during the past ten years the average was sixty-three, and during the past five years, eighty-five. The present membership is over 500, and the Sunday morning attendance has ranged from 500 to over 1,200 during the past season. The lecturers were: Alfred W. Martin, Algeron S. Crapsey, Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, William M. Salter, Charles Zueblin, David Saville Muzzey, Horace J. Bridges, Nathaniel Schmidt, Mlle. Marguerite Clément, Morris Jastrow, Jr., André Morize, Lajpat Rai, James Weldon Johnson, J. Duncan Spaeth, and Felix Adler.

The English Union of Ethical Societies

The Council of the English Union of Ethical Societies, in its twenty-fourth annual report, recently received in this country, states that "during the four years that the war lasted, new enterprises in propaganda upon an extensive scale were impossible, both the Council and the separate Societies having to concentrate all their efforts upon the vital task of keeping the Movement in being and its machinery in readiness for future work. Under these circumstances the Council regrets that it is unable to record the starting of new Societies during the past year, but it hopes that several of those which were compelled to suspend their activities will resume them in the near future.

"The regular visits arranged by the Council to conscientious objectors in Wandsworth Prison have been continued throughout the year. . . . The Council passed the following resolution which was forwarded to the Prime Minister and the Home Secretary: 'Seeing that four months have now elapsed since the armistice was signed, and that a general peace appears to be imminent, the Council of the Union of Ethical Societies feels most strongly that all those who are in prison owing to their conscientious objections to military service should be forthwith released, and that His Majesty's Government should take this matter into their consideration without delay.'

"The work of the Soldier's Friendship Committee has been continued successfully

and unremittingly; but the need for it has now terminated. Since it began its work, regular communication has been kept up with all the men whose addresses were available . . . and many most grateful and appreciative letters from them have been received. . . . The Committee also gladly offered its services to the members of the American Ethical Societies who were with

the American Army and Navy in Europe, and this effort to care for them on the part of their British colleagues has been most welcome, both to the men themselves and to the American Societies. It has been a great privilege to have been able to offer to them this expression of good will and comradeship."

D. S. H.



ON THE WAY TO THE SWIMMING HOLE AT FELICIA

THE ETHICAL MOTIVE IN BUSINESS*

BY FELIX ADLER

WHEN I think of my fellow-pilgrims upon this earth, the great multitude of human beings who day by day go about their affairs bearing their burdens, sharing the same secret anxieties, the same transient joys in the short transit from the cradle to the grave, I confess that I am touched; a chord vibrates and I stretch out my arms and say, "Brothers mine." There is a certain likeness in the destiny of all of us, in the stuff of which we are made, in our feelings, our strivings. It is the consciousness of this fundamental likeness which explains the echoes awakened by the preaching of brotherhood or fraternity that to-day is heard in many a pulpit and on many a platform. It is the first stir of awakening to a great spiritual truth,—the truth that unless there were a certain fundamental likeness in men they could not belong to the same spiritual fellowship.

There was a time, not very long ago, when this truth was hidden; when it was believed that men are really baked of different clay, some inferior, others superior in their very substance. Among the unenlightened, opulent classes this obsolete belief still lingers. Against such false reading of human nature, such painful misinterpretation of the moral facts, the message of brotherhood has been a useful corrective. It compels attention to the likeness of men and subordinates the differences that are accidental, as of birth, rank and fortune. But nevertheless it is only a half truth which the insistence on brotherhood brings into view. Aside from the meretricious and accidental differences there are essential, indelible differences between human beings which it is folly to ignore. The spiritual rule must

indeed accentuate the fact of difference on the ground of likeness, and must glory in that difference. We are as truly all different as we are all alike. We cannot operate with the half truth of likeness any more than we can cut with one blade of a pair of shears. We must apply the complementary truth of diversity in the solution of the grave, social problems with which we have to deal, the problems of the reciprocal readjustment of man to man, class to class, nation to nation, and people to people. For these diversities exist. If a way is not found of adapting them each to the other, friction, hate and crime will be the consequences. The first murder was of a brother by a brother. Joseph was sold into slavery by his brothers. And the history of brothers in a thousand families repeats the same warning. How much more, then, may differences appear and breed disorder among those unconnected by the tie of consanguinity, whom we call in a figurative sense our brothers. In fine the perception of underlying fraternity is only the beginning of spiritual insight. The message of brotherhood as it is preached to-day is inadequate. In order to bring about an availing change in the way that men look upon each other, we must go deeper.

The heir of the largest fortune in the United States recently delivered an address on brotherhood. In this he speaks of the share that is due to capitalist and the share that is due to laborer, and urges that they should agree in a brotherly fashion each to concede his due to the other. It is being more and more recognized that the head of a business cannot, without the concerted assistance of others, carry on the business in the best possible way. The chief consults, with heads of departments and assistants, and realizes that the devolution

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of function is the condition of the best exercise of function. He realizes that for the best success he must educate those who are associated with him to take a part of the responsibility off his shoulders, not only because it is too heavy for him to carry alone but because success depends upon calling out the abilities of others that are waiting to be evoked. The advantage of this procedure is that he will then be freed from the encumbrance of many duties which others can perform better than he, and that he will better perform his own task. The ablest of men must recognize there are some things which others can do better than they. The right relation of the superior to the inferior depends on recognizing that the inferior, in a certain sense, is not an inferior, in so far as he can do some things better than the superior, even if they be the lesser things. The art of being the right kind of superior is the art par excellence. If those who are the superiors in business will admit that their type of ability must be dovetailed with the abilities now scattered among those who are regarded simply as inferiors, the critical problem of right relations will be solved.

Some one may ask, by what title I discuss the subject of business at all, since I am not engaged in it, and therefore cannot be acquainted at first hand with its processes. I reply that there are two aspects of business: the one technical, concerned with the complex methods of production and exchange, and with that side of business I have nothing to do. Then there is another side in which I am infinitely concerned, namely, that of the personal relations. Every occupation, every vocation, gives rise to certain relations between the persons engaged in it; and ethics, being the science of right relations, and on its practical side the art of bringing about right relations, cannot avert its face from the wrong relations that exist in the business world to-day. It must apply its utmost thought to the possible righting of them. An Ethical Society in a great commercial city which should refuse to consider the ethical problems that arise in the industrial

sphere would be an unhappy paradox. Furthermore, in our Ethical Society we endeavor to give to young boys and girls a careful training. We attempt in particular to develop in the young a certain idealism, a certain noble conception of life. And after they have been kept under this influence for from ten to twelve years, a considerable number of the lads on leaving school go straight into business. And then there is apt to occur a sudden and disastrous break in their life; a chasm opens between the moral standards which they have been taught to reverence in the school and the moral standards which they see applied in business. The effect is apt to be destructive in two ways: either they turn to scoff at the ideals of their youth, cynically casting them aside as illusions good enough in theory but not applicable in practice, or, unable to escape from the spell of moral idealism under which they have been brought up, and finding the so-called ethics of business far from conforming to their ideas of justice, they are apt to turn with a fierce hatred against the social institutions as they exist, and become embittered extremists. Is it possible to bridge the chasm, to maintain idealism without sacrificing practical usefulness? You may say this is impossible, and it may prove to be so in your opinion, but one cannot admit that it is impossible at least to put forth every effort to find a way. It is certainly a comparatively easy thing to accept the world's standards, and even to pronounce a sweeping condemnation upon the whole social system, saying, We will plant and build anew after the unholy thing has been swept out of sight. It is much more difficult to go into business, to become a part of this spotted world, and to see whether one can manage to remain essentially unspotted by it.

My plea is rather for business conducted in a certain way. In any case the business of the world must go on. Even if Socialism were the eventual remedy, neither the state of education reached by the wage-earners nor the political circumstances of the United States would make it possible immediately to establish Socialism. *In the*

meantime the production of goods and their exchange must proceed. There must be business men. Are the men who carry on this system of production and exchange doomed to regard themselves, supposing their conscience to be awakened, as moral pariahs, or is there a way, at every moment, even for those who are involved in a bad system, to retain their self-respect?

The first requirement in this matter is absolute truthfulness. It is not necessary to exaggerate. There is of course a distinction between the honorable and the dishonorable merchant, between the man who is nicely scrupulous in fulfilling his obligations, even to his own loss, and the other who takes advantage of the fine points of the law to escape his pledge. There are men who disdain petty chicanery and intrigue, while others endeavor to accumulate wealth by indirection and more or less of deceit. The business code, as between merchant and merchant, or as between the manufacturer and his clients, is in some respects high. It would be incredible that after all these years of civilization it should not be. But it is in the relation between the heads and the underlings, between the employers and the employed, and especially in industry between employers and the wage-earners who have only their labor to offer in exchange for payment, that the system is notoriously bad. Here is the sore spot, and the first duty of the ethically minded man who wishes to retain at the same time his place in the business world and his self-respect, is to face the evil, acknowledging its existence where it exists, not glozing it over by all manner of sophistries.

One of the patent and undeniable evils is the prodigious inequality of the incomes derived by the successful manufacturer or merchant and the multitude of the employed. This is a commonplace of recent discussion and it seems unnecessary to expatiate upon it. But it is necessary for the high minded man who wishes to remain in business to recognize the inequity, and to brush aside the untenable defences that are put up on its behalf. Many persons are misled into justifying

what they at heart know to be unjustifiable, because they see no remedy or because the remedy seems to them worse than the disease. Socialism, for instance, may appear to them even more inequitable than the present system; or if in externals more equitable, more harmful. It is better, they may think, that many men should go in rags, to use an extreme metaphor, than that society as a whole should be put into a straight-jacket. The straight-jacket will keep us all warm, but will hamper every free movement. Be that as it may, it is the first imperative duty of honest thinking to recognize that a wrong is a wrong, that inequity is inequitable, whether we see a way of changing it or not. We shall never see a way if in insincere fashion we disguise the social wounds, or pretend that the worse is the better reason. If we are part and parcel of a bad system, our prime obligation is to recognize the badness, not to justify what essentially is unjust.

Now there are various methods resorted to for this kind of justification. One is to find a moral ground for the share of capital. Merit is ascribed to the capitalist on the ground of his abstinence. He has saved what he might have spent, and has thus laid by a store for investments. But certainly the prodigious fortunes, the fortunes acquired by bankers in reorganization procedures, the fortunes acquired in the steel and oil industries, cannot be explained thus simply. Mr. Lajpat Rai, in his book on India, makes the statement that the loot of the hoarded wealth of India supplied to a large extent the capital which was utilized in England at the time of the industrial revolution to start the era of manufacturing prosperity. In some cases undoubtedly the capitalist accumulation was the result of economy, even of miserly economy. But the start once made, wealth goes on accumulating like an avalanche. The ten million become one hundred million, the one hundred million five hundred million, by shewd investment and by the power which capital gives to engross the proceeds of new enterprise, without regard for virtue or merit.

Even where men have risen from poverty, as many, perhaps most wealthy men in this country have, it must not be overlooked that their talent, their energy, their implacable will, their faculty of organization, their keenness in selecting their assistants, in discerning the possibilities of new inventions would all have not availed had not blind opportunity come to their aid. The talents of business men often are not of the highest order, not of the kind in which the mind and character of the human species shines out most brightly. And similar talents are doubtless dispersed among the many, but never come to light or fruition for lack of opportunity. The child of the industrial laborer is forced to go to work, even under child labor laws, at fourteen. He is tethered to his task. He cannot get loose sufficiently to develop the gifts that may be inherent in him.

Another way of shutting out the evil of the present system is to defend the iniquities, not at their root, but in their fruit, with a view to the purpose they serve. The ex-President of the United States, recently deceased, was a very remarkable and interesting figure in our history, illustrating the complexity of the human character, its lights and shadows, its excellencies and defects. He had the faculty of crystallizing public opinion, thereby giving force to movements already going, and he greatly assisted in awakening the conscience of the nation to some of the grosser forms of evil. Yet he repeatedly expressed the opinion that the acquisition of wealth must remain unhampered. The leaders of industry and commerce, he thought, must be tempted by unlimited pecuniary gains to exercise their ingenuity and initiative in order to increase the share which would then fall to the lot of the less gifted multitude. The presumption among those who hold this view is that the prospect of immense wealth supplies the only motive sufficient to draw out initiative and energy. Perhaps our recent experience in the war, when persons of eminent capacity lent their services to the government in Washington at a dollar a year, will modify somewhat this all too humble esti-

mate of human nature. Perhaps it will be discovered that the exercise of power on a large and beneficent scale is itself a satisfaction and privilege which men of genius will covet, quite apart from any great money reward. No doubt it is the absence of any obvious beneficent purpose in business aside from selfish enrichment that accounts for the supposed necessity of the selfish motive. There has been no difficulty in getting Cabinet officers to serve, or in securing a sufficient number of candidates for the Presidency, or in tempting men of the highest military ability to serve as generals of the army, though the salaries for these positions are often absurdly inadequate. Wherever there is a great purpose to be served, and that purpose is in sight, men rise to superior heights; the lower motives are forgotten, and the lofty disinterested and honorable motives of human nature come into play.

Besides disproportionateness of income, another manifest evil in industry and business is the rule of autocracy. It has often been pointed out that political democracy and industrial autocracy are not compatible in principle; yet they co-exist. Perhaps nowhere in the world has the right of the employer to govern his employees autocratically been more sharply asserted than in America. Now it is by no means a hardship or an injustice for a child to obey a parent, inasmuch as obedience is exacted of the immature solely for the purpose of training them to become independent. But for an adult to be treated as permanently immature, and incapable of acting on his own initiative is a very different matter. It is not a hardship to obey rigidly the regimen ordered by a physician, although one does not understand the why and the wherefore, because we know that the physician does not intend to increase his own health at the expense of ours, but rather that he will even often sacrifice his health in caring for ours. But it is a very different matter to obey the orders of an employer when the main advantage of obedience accrues to him and only the incidental advantages to oneself. Obedience is in-

tolerable unless it leads to independence; compulsion is indefensible except as a condition of liberty. If it is said that the great majority of industrial laborers are fit only to obey, that mills and mines cannot be run successfully on the anarchist plan, the answer is that there is a wide distance between anarchy and autocracy. We have found a middle line in our politics; shall we despair of finding a golden mean in the management of business?

Inequity of recompense and autocracy in management have been the two outstanding evils of the business world. How can generous youth be encouraged to face these evils, to maintain its high ideals without sacrificing its practical usefulness? How can the young man entering a business career be kept equally removed from cynical materialism and rabid revolutionism? The first step is to give him an exalted ideal of what the career of a merchant-manufacturer might be made to be, to make him think of business as a true vocation, not primarily as a gainful occupation. Every genuine vocation is a form of service requisite for human good. The gains it yields are incidental. The service it performs is the essential thing. This is recognized as true of the physician, the judge and the teacher, but it has not thus far been true of the business man. In his case the gain has been cried up as the essential, and the service has been treated as incidental. This is the blight of business, the bad root from which all the evils which have been mentioned have grown.

In order to prepare the mind of the young man for the vocational view of business, I would give him in grand panorama an idea of what commerce and industry have already done for the world; I would enlarge his horizon in regard to his own occupation and give it an immense setting in the history of the great commercial entrepôts of the world—of Miletus, of Tyre and Sidon, of Carthage and Rome, of queenly Venice with her palaces set on the lagoons, of the Hansa towns, *et cetera*.

Commerce has always had, as it

has to-day, two aspects. I would speak sincerely of both to the young. I would have them emulate what is noble in the history of commerce, and I would have them overcome what is sinister and hideous. Business, taking manufacture and commerce jointly, has a service to perform. It produces and distributes the things whereby human existence is relieved of brutishness and made commodious—hence the name "commodity." Commerce, besides this elementary service, has been one of the chief external influences that have awakened mankind out of its sleep. The calculations of the counting-house have been favorable to the calculations of the scientist. Greek philosophy, which was largely scientific in its character, was born at Miletus, the great commercial city of the Ionian Greeks. The Phoenician traders spread the knowledge of letters. Syracuse was the home of Archimedes, Alexandria of the astronomers, Florence of Galilei. The influence of commerce on art is familiar to all; less familiar its influence on the constitution of states and on religion. The merchants of the time of Elizabeth called themselves merchant adventurers, and the characteristic trait of excellence in the merchant is the adventurous spirit, the alertness, the activity, which spreads and promotes activity in all directions.

But there is also the other side to trade. The adventurer easily turns into the fighter, prone to unscrupulous encroachment on the rights of weaker folk in the interests of gain. Witness the slave trade for the monopoly of which mercantile England fought with Spain; the opium trade, against which poor China is seeking to protect herself; the ravages wrought throughout the African continent by the trade in intoxicating liquors and firearms; the peonage system which survives to-day after slavery itself has been ostentatiously abolished. Whole peoples, or the groups that control peoples, are thus led to subordinate the fundamental idea of service, which is the honor of business, to the selfish idea of profit and exploitation. Competition between predatory groups for foreign markets has been the chief cause of

war. If the League of Nations is to be an enduring league, it must be a league based on justice. And justice means not an equal share for the exploiters, but protection and development for those who are now exploited. In other words, the rich, advanced, mercantile peoples of the world must accept the idea of commercial relations as reciprocal service. The business man's outlook must not be contracted within the limits of his shop, or his factory, or his mill. His eyes must sweep the world; to the ends of the earth must be the outgoings of his thought, his plans, his beneficence.

The same guiding conception must obtain in the domestic regulation of business. The essence of all improvement in business is that it shall become a vocation. Now in respect to a vocation there are three requirements: first to grasp distinctly, firmly and clearly the nature of the service it is called upon to render; second, to realize that the service at present is imperfectly performed; third, to realize that the personal relations for which the vocation affords the opportunity, are the supreme means of perfecting the service, of realizing the spiritual purpose for which man exists. The cry has now been raised that the human factor must be considered in business. But the human factor is as yet not really humanly conceived. To pay respect to the human nature of the worker is taken to mean to give him a better wage, so that he may command better food and shelter, to abbreviate somewhat the hours of monotonous toil. But the characteristics that raise a man above the brute are, above all, mental and moral. Man is a thinker. To really respect the human factor in industry would be to treat him as a being capable of thinking, of using his mind on his work and as a moral being, that is, as one competent to exercise his will on the regulations by which he abides. Hence, in all recent proposals for industrial betterment, the representation of the workers has figured prominently. In the recent report of the Parliamentary Commission to Lloyd George, great stress is laid upon the improvement of the service by taking into

mental and moral partnership those who are in immediate contact with the processes, and who, under a right system of continued education for adults as well as for youths, would be able to make helpful suggestions beyond the purview of those who see the problems of industry only from the standpoint of the chiefs.

But the representation of the workers must be real and not illusory. The sphere within which they have power may at first be limited. It may be the right to decide on hiring and firing, or to bring their grievances before their own tribunals, or to have a voice in the appointment of their foremen; but whatever the right accorded may be, it must be combined with power, because without power there is no responsibility, and without responsibility there is no education unto freedom.

There are forceful natures of a crude sort whose greatest satisfaction is to exercise power by imposing their will upon the helpless will of others, to issue commands to which they expect implicit obedience. Such lovers of power are household tyrants, political bosses, school masters of the old type, and among them is many a captain of industry. But they fail after all to attain the highest power worthy of a spiritual nature. For it is intolerable for a fine man to hear only the echo of his own words coming from those who surround him, to be in contact with wills which move only mechanically as he directs them. The only satisfying relation between personalities is that in which each will is in touch with living wills that respond in their own spontaneous way.

The conception of business as a vocation in which the perfection of service and the cultivation of a genuine mental and moral partnership are the guiding ideals is still far ahead of what may be generally expected in the proximate future. In the meantime measures that will at least correct the grossest inequalities, such as the steep taxation of excessive incomes, the application of inheritance taxes and the like, will receive urgent consideration, while at the same time the high minded man need wait for no such

coercion from the side of the state in order to set himself right with his conscience. He can be a law to himself. He can set his own limits. If his revenue is superfluous, he can decide what his genuine needs are and, restricting himself within those limits, can devote the surplus to public uses. Perhaps the tendency to simpler living which the war has enforced will have some effect in this direction. Perhaps the thoughtful man engaged in business will begin to say: I think too highly of myself to be a mere accumulator of riches; I think too highly of myself merely to exercise the meaner power of a strong will for suppressing the will of my fellows; I think too highly of myself to waste my own strength and the resources of society in ways of living that are unpardonable.

It is the doom of men, perhaps the supreme tragedy, to be implicated in social wrongs which they can only to a moderate degree alleviate. I am a citizen, and I wish to vote righteously, but I cannot. I am often ashamed of my vote. The choice is forced upon me often between candidates neither of whom I approve of. I am compelled to choose between party programs, some one of the items of which I may think right, while to the rest I must close my eyes. I am a subject of the state, and when the state goes to war, I must give my body to be slain, whether I believe in the necessity of the war or not—fortunate I am if I believe in it, yet under compulsion to obey the mandate of the state whether I believe or not. I am a part of society, and many of its usages seem to me trivial and demoralizing, yet I cannot wholly disassociate myself from them. I believe in the family with an insistent belief, and yet I recognize that the family, as

it is, is disgraced and dishonored in innumerable instances.

There are intolerable evils which must yet be tolerated. It is a stupendous mistake to suppose that I can be literally righteous in act, in the relations in which I am dependent on the co-operation of others to secure social ends. I can be righteous in deed only in the more intimate relations of life, where the result depends wholly upon my initiative, and even there I would not scan too closely the absolute whiteness of my acts. I can and must be righteous in all relations in intent, if not in deed, and the intent is shown in the endeavor to lift the pall that lies upon mankind and to turn the course of human affairs in the right direction to the extent of my ability. The very revulsion I experience from things as they are, and from myself as inextricably implicated in this imperfect human group, leads me to see more clearly what ought to be. From that vision comes the strength to renew endeavor and the enhanced effort is my salvation. Stay in business, I say, yet be inexorable to see the truth; present to your mind all that is evil in it, revolt from it, cling to the service idea, to the vision at least of the right relations, of life that elicits life in others, and do your utmost to translate your vision into practice. But do not desert your post. The world's production, the world's business must still go on. Would you have meaner spirits take your place? You are at the helm. You can guide some little ship of your own in the direction of the fair haven, though you may never bring her into port. The right direction is everything. You have saved your self-respect if you have helped to guide the course of mankind, so far as you can, in the right direction.

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THE SECOND BATTLE

THE first battle is won. The banners of military autocracy supported by reactionary Junkerthum and leagued with the cynical brutality of Sultanism and the inveterate tyranny of the Hapsburgs, have gone down before the allied forces of Western Europe and the United States. Plaudits and parades for our returning heroes prolong the celebration of victory. But victory has responsibilities as well as satisfactions. We say that democracy has won, as if democracy sprang full panoplied in virtues from the head of Mars. What democracy has really won is only the opportunity to refute by its works the sneers of those who call its goal the reign of ignorance, violence and chaos.

The second battle is on—the battle of democracy with the foes of its own household. And unless this battle is won, the journey of the hosts that crossed the seas to fight in France and Flanders will have been as futile as the march of the Crusaders across Europe in the Middle Ages—their goal an empty tomb!

To say that this is a critical time, that we are living in seething unrest, that the immediate future seems capable of producing unreckoned calamities, is but to repeat the gloomy truism that passes from lip to lip in the most casual of conversations. Another Paine might well begin another *Crisis* today with the words: "These are the times that try men's souls." Recriminations abound and counsel is darkened. Men cry Lo!

here, and Lo! there. It is labor with its insolently mounting demands; it is the profiteer stabbing society in the back; it is the government making a mess of running private business; it is the farmer demanding exorbitant prices for grain; it is the packer, it is the slacker, it is anyone and everyone (except ourself) that is to blame.

But the evils of this day, however complex their nature and pervasive their workings, are all reducible in the eyes of ethical idealism to a single fault: the lack of a just conception of democracy. Democracy is not a form of government, but a social ideal. It is the progressive discovery and application of human co-operation in freedom. To remedy its shortcomings by curtailing freedom—freedom of discussion, of movement, of opinion—is to burn the house to destroy the rats. The only cure for the evils of imperfect democracy is the intensification of the vision of the more perfect democracy.

This vision we men and women of middle life can clarify by persistent cultivation of the ideals of the great masters of faith in democracy—our Washingtons and Jeffersons and Lincolns. But it is, after all, in the quality of the next generation that the great hope lies, in the youth of our land for whom disillusionment has not begun its corroding work. What a challenge for the teachers of our land as the schools and universities again throw open their doors! What an opportunity for par-

ents and elders to co-operate in instruction in the one great "course" of the year—training for citizenship in a democracy. The children are the "seed-corn of the nation." We boast of "bumper crops" of grain and corn; but no crop can compare in importance with the boys and girls who are maturing under these changing skies. They are quick to take the impression of our minds. Let us resolutely and cheerfully communicate to them the good and not the evil, the promising and not the disappointing, the remediable and not the hopeless features of our troubled age. Let us do all that in us lies to train a generation to see more clearly than we can see the vision of the ideal democracy. For only so can the second battle be won; only so can democracy be made a blessing to the world.

D. S. M.

EPITHETS INSTEAD OF ARGUMENTS

IF YOU do not approve of an action, don't trouble to show why others should not approve of it either. Simply denounce it as a conspiracy. In doing so you will be in distinguished company, including Congressmen and the Mayor of the largest city in the country. If you wish to see a certain policy followed with reference to the railroads, brand anybody who fails to agree with you as conspiring with sinister-minded persons to exploit the public. If you think that a treaty ought or ought not to be ratified, charge your opponents with being in a conspiracy to "put something over" on the country.

You are, of course, not limited to the term "conspiracy." Plenty of other epithets are at your disposal. If you are inclined to admire the Bolsheviks, the proper thing to do is to stigmatize anybody who is not in love with them as a Junker, or, for the sake of variety, a reactionary. On the other hand, if you do not admire the Lenine-Trotsky

school of politics, then anybody who differs from you upon the question of higher fares for interurban car lines is automatically a Bolshevik, or possibly an internationalist.

There is no denying that this mode of reasoning simplifies the process immensely. It at once puts your opponent hopelessly in the wrong. His very denial of the implication of your words only brings him under deeper suspicion. It would, that is, if the thing were not so excessively overdone. Unfortunately, everybody has caught on to the trick, and this has tended to reduce its effectiveness. Even when a United States Senator points an aggressive finger and declaims, "Conspiracy!" somehow the word fails to be as damning as it really ought to be.

One could hardly go so far as to claim the fashion exclusively for our own age. Even if we were as original as we think we are, we could not invent a device that is as old as the race. All that we can justifiably boast is that we are making more use of it than has sometimes been made. But this should be glory enough.

R. J. D.

IS DUTY STRIKING TOO?

WHAT has become of the old-fashioned sense of duty? The air is full of clamor about what ought to be done in a thousand departments of life. Employers and employees, statesmen and constituents, teachers and students, parents and children, all are reconsidering their relations to each other and their respective parts in the tasks in which, willingly or unwillingly, they are associated. But in general they seem unaware of duty as having anything to do with the problem. Even "rights" are not talked of as they sometimes have been. It is all a matter of "demands." We propose to get for ourselves all that we can, and you are foolish if you don't

do the same—this is the new Golden Rule.

An exception must be made of teachers and parents; not, however, a very honorable exception. They are, it is true, talking endlessly of their duty to those whose guidance is in their hands, but the upshot of much of their talk is that their duty is to find out what it is that pupils and children wish and see that they get it. This inverted notion of duty is as bad as no sense of duty at all.

If the current teacher-and-parent idea of duty could be spread among other classes of the community that are at odds with one another and correspondingly moderated among teachers and parents, how the world would improve!

R. J. D.

A PROPOSAL OF PARTNERSHIP

PERIODICALS frequently seek to secure support by setting forth in as favorable a light as possible the special functions which they aim to perform, but it is not customary for them to take their readers into their confidence and to state with entire frankness the problems which they face and the end which they serve. This THE STANDARD now undertakes to do, indeed believes that it is in duty bound to do, for, as the official publication of the Ethical Movement in America, its success is in great measure dependent upon the hearty co-operation and friendly criticism of the members of the Ethical Societies who in large measure form its clientele. But whether members of an Ethical Society or not, it welcomes the counsel of all of its subscribers and friends.

There are now 3,500 members of the American Ethical Societies, and the first obligation of THE STANDARD is to them. Scattered as these members are over a wide territory, in nine different Societies, a journal is needed which

shall always keep them in touch with the main currents of thought and action within the Ethical Movement. The members of each Society should be informed of what is going on elsewhere; but even if there were only one Society such a journal as THE STANDARD would be indispensable. Many persons who are unable to attend the Sunday morning meetings wish to read some of the addresses at their leisure; others, having heard an address, desire to have it in printed form. Not long ago an urgent telephone request came from a New York business man who wanted a copy of Dr. Adler's address on "The Ethical Motive in Business," which has since been published, to submit to members of his firm, in order that it might aid them in deciding current questions of business policy. So THE STANDARD aims to be a stimulating messenger, going into members' homes and offices each month, to remind them that they are a part of a great undertaking and to hearten them for the urgent task of translating into every-day action the high ideals of the Movement.

While we emphasize this responsibility to members of the Societies, we believe that we have a further obligation to familiarize non-members with the purposes which animate the Movement. The number of our adherents is increasing. In 1916 we were reported in the *Bulletin of Church Statistics* to have had only 2450 members, and the present figures indicate a growth since that time of forty-three per cent. Even at that, our membership is comparatively small and out of all keeping with our capacity for useful service. While we have no thought of undertaking a great popular campaign for new members, there is surely no reason why we should not make a deliberate effort to attract to our Societies the considerable number of thoughtful men and women who, though remaining aloof from all religious organizations, are, nevertheless, yearning for a free and at the same time a dynamic religion. THE

STANDARD can help in this endeavor. It should be brought more and more to the attention of non-members—through public and college libraries, through the solicitation of subscriptions by our members, through advertisements in other periodicals and through sales at public bookstands. The printed lectures and the accounts of the work carried on by the different Societies will indicate to outsiders the opportunities which we offer to all who are seriously interested in the search for better ways of living.

And THE STANDARD can do even more; it can make positive contributions to current thought on the great problems of life. In so far as it does this, it will merit the attention of earnest people everywhere, regardless of their religious affiliations. It is certainly within our power to supplement the work of the church, which will maintain its position only as it alters its practice and its teaching. Modern science has wrought great changes in its doctrines, and progress in the field of ethics may be expected to do likewise. Shall we not serve as interpreters of moral and spiritual concepts to those who, though they may spurn our fellowship, cannot wholly repudiate our ideas? No doubt it would be difficult to secure subscriptions from any considerable number of leaders in the orthodox churches, who might mistakenly regard THE STANDARD as a purely sectarian journal. But it would be worth while for someone to provide a fund for sending the magazine to the leading theological seminaries, to Young Men's Christian Association reading rooms, and to a considerable number of influential clergymen. If the initial prejudice were overcome, and THE STANDARD were introduced to prominent church leaders, the helpful influence of the Movement might be greatly enhanced.

To some extent we shall no doubt be able to appeal to the more thoughtful members of the general reading

public. While it is certainly not our chief function to publish a monthly review dealing exhaustively with social, economic and political problems, we shall always have occasion to discuss the great public questions of the day in such a way as to supplement the discussions in other periodicals, and thereby to merit the consideration of the general public.

Certain it is that our friends have been increasing in number. In response to an appeal sent out in the early summer, we have secured more than two hundred and sixty new subscriptions, so that we have over 2,000 names on our lists, which is more than ever before, and are issuing editions of 2500. This we hope is only a beginning.

But if we were at all tempted to overrate our success in this or in other respects, we should soon be recalled to our right minds by an occasional letter which comes in the mail. A busy New York lawyer recently complained that he was too tired when he reached home after a hard day's work to read such "errudite" articles containing so many "polysyllabic" words as are published in THE STANDARD. Then too, we have to remember that some of our members practice their religion with respect to THE STANDARD, subscribe out of a sense of duty, and then give the magazine a place of honor on their library table without reading it. But in all truth, it must be said that the mails bring us more of approval than of censure.

That we may be less worthy of the condemnation and more so of the commendation, but primarily that we may publish a more useful journal, regardless of blame or praise, we have determined to make a number of changes in our practice. In the first place, steps have been taken to make the appearance of the magazine more attractive and its contents more interesting and readable. We aim to devote some space in each issue to editorials. Perhaps nothing attracts attention to a

magazine of the general character of THE STANDARD so much as the editorial comments on the first pages. Americans commonly believe themselves to be very busy. "Over-tension and jerkiness and breathlessness and intensity" are characterized by William James as American bad habits which have ill effects on our spiritual life. But until these habits are overcome we shall have to take people as they are. And so we must serve our intense, busy American, who is deluged with a great volume and variety of printed matter, clamoring for his attention. As he opens his magazine, he is much more likely to be tempted to read brief and timely editorial notes on the first pages than to tackle at the outset a twelve-column address dealing with some subject of transcendent ethical importance.

We also purpose to increase the number of our contributors and to decrease the number of lectures in each issue, devoting the space formerly given to the latter to shorter articles, to important news relating to the Ethical Movement at home and abroad, to reviews of really important books, and to correspondence of interest. Letters from readers are welcomed, although their publication cannot of course be guaranteed in every instance.

The changes which we propose are not designed to make THE STANDARD a

"popular" magazine. Indeed, our purpose is far too serious for us ever to hope for great popularity. But that need not deter us from taking every legitimate step within our power to make our paper interesting, attractive and better known.

It is reported that Adam said to Eve as they stepped out of the Garden of Eden, "My dear, we are in a state of transition." In this respect the times have not changed, but any break with the past requires effort, and we are still blessed with the curse which was put upon Adam of having to work hard for the good things of the world. We propose to make radical changes in the program of THE STANDARD, which if they are carried out, will require considerable additional effort on the part of all of us—editors, contributors and readers. We have suggested these changes not as a mere paper program, but as indicating lines along which actual work may be done. If we are willing to make the effort THE STANDARD may become a much more effective instrument for furthering our purposes. The editors therefore wish most earnestly to solicit the heartiest co-operation of all interested persons, in the endeavor to make our journal more serviceable to the Movement and to the public.

D. S. H.

AN ENGLISH ETHICAL OUTLOOK

BY FREDERICK J. GOULD

LET me say at once that I do not propose to speak of the English Ethical Movement in the stricter sense. I wish to take a brief survey of the after-war educational problem. My references will often be English, and I may appear inadequately mindful of conditions, obstacles or advantages in other quarters of the globe, but I hope the reader will discover that my real standpoint is that of our common humanity.

Some friends may recall that I have twice visited the United States for the purpose of giving public demonstration lessons on conduct topics; first, under the auspices of the American Ethical Union, and secondly, I traversed a chain of some thirty cities, the tour being kindly and most effectively organized by Professor F. C. Sharp, of the University of Wisconsin. The second visit closed at Washington, D. C., in April, 1914. In sum total, I have addressed groups of American young people about 340 times. Every now and then, I have the pleasure of sending messages, adorned with stories, through the medium of my very good friend, Miss Cecilia R. Boette, to the Children's Sunday Assembly at the Sheldon Memorial, St. Louis, Mo. I trust, therefore, that I shall not seem to be addressing strangers in a strange land. It may be as well to add that I still carry on such work here in England.* But as, the longer I labor at the enterprise, the more I feel the reasonableness of dealing with ethical themes by concrete illustration and parable rather than by exhortations, my printed programs are always headed "Moral Instruction Without Moralizing."

*On the strength of a fund managed by a small committee, unconnected with any society or league.

These introductory remarks may suffice to show that my interest in a form of teaching which I have advocated for some twenty-five years is unabated. Nevertheless, though I shall discuss the subject of instruction (as distinct from family and personal discipline), I desire to cover much wider ground than the special method with which my name has been somewhat associated. So our particular topic shall be,—How to adapt methods of moral teaching to the new world created by the War of 1914-1918.

It may be broadly affirmed that the older faiths and churches, from the Middle Ages up to the rise of modern Humanism, always did aim at instruction in personal duties. We who do not subscribe to theological creeds, and try to construct methods on purely human and social foundations, cannot surpass the ancient Confessions, Jewish, Catholic, and the rest, in zeal for such an object. We endeavour to rationalize the instruction, and (note well) we endeavour to lay a deeper stress upon citizenship. Personal excellence in character does not inevitably imply a right appreciation of one's civic responsibilities. In that rich sense of the term "political," I affirm that our ethical teaching is essentially more political than the church teaching of the last fifteen or eighteen centuries. The developments due to the war will force us to render the teaching of youth still more political; that is to say, it must have yet closer relations with the civic life, the social life, the industrial life, the municipal life (not forgetting village and rural areas), the national life, and even the international life. Here is an immense cosmos for the ethical spirit to labor in! Such a labor must fail unless actuated by a great ideal.

Let me say right here that I count some popular educational ideals as only secondary and auxiliary. The ideal of Efficiency, which has considerable vogue in the United States, (the "Doing Things" ideal is part of it) I reject. The biggest devil (to speak figuratively) that ever lived may be extraordinarily efficient, under scientific management, at his expert trade,—profiteering, for example. I also reject the Montessorian ideal of Self-Development, which appears to me a futile and perhaps injurious principle, in so far as it merely seeks to unfold the qualities of a limited and perhaps unpleasant Individual. Efficiency is good, Self-Development good, all activities, adventures and dreams are good, if they are concentrated upon the ideal of Service towards Family, Country and Humanity. Such, as I conceive it, should be the mainspring of ethical instruction, and indeed of all education, from the kindergarten to the university.

Some moralists are very superficial people. If you ask them what is wrong with the world, and why labor troubles and wars occur, they answer that the evils are due to a widespread lack of character. For my part, I do not think so. Civilization has been training our life and manners for tens of thousands of years, and the average man or woman, if given ordinary scope and fair play, does not need elaborate lessons in honesty, justice, gratitude, considerateness, and the like. If you put him in a slum, he may rot morally. If you let him grow up among wealthy idlers, he will decay. In ordinary conditions, you can rely upon him, unless, of course, you are a Calvinist, in which case you expect nothing fine or beautiful from human nature, and are yourself diseased, and you need a physician, that is to say, a wise friend who will explain to you the history and action of the human soul. There is a victorious healthiness in that soul.

I live in a country which was strenuously engaged in war from August,

1914, to November, 1918; and I live in London, which was many times bombed from airships and aëroplanes. I have been up and down the land, in cities and villages, seen the young men in millions stream to the colours, watched the women at unaccustomed industries, read journals of all types, and listened to debates which were carried on, so to say, amid the incessant cannonade; and deadly peril beat upon all our shores. Of this British nation at large, I affirm that there was no failure of character in the crisis of storm and pain. And no matter how modestly Americans may deprecate the praise, nothing will make me believe that the nation of the United States is less competent than mine to meet the tempests and cruelties of fate. In a certain sense, it is an insult to such communities to talk of the urgent necessity for the moral instruction of their young citizenship. And, nevertheless, the necessity is very urgent indeed. When the war wrote the call of duty in blazing letters across the heavens, all but a handful of cowards, grabbers and cranks responded. But there are calls that are not written in blazing letters. They are calls of daily circumstance in the age of peace, calls from the social deeps, calls from dim horizons of remote races and colours; calls to which the general imagination has not been taught to respond. We most of us know the heroic passion that rises at the challenge of a common danger and agony. Fundamentally, we have the character values. But we do not, in the citizen mass, yet know the meaning of the heroic passion which discovers, with joy and devotion, the splendid issues of the labor, the responsibilities, the co-operation of the common life, and the far-reaching circles of humanity. In short, our ethical activity is narrow in its scope. It can, at rare moments, throw itself gloriously upon a dramatic task. It bears itself honestly in little fields in times of peace. It has not a perpetual, broad vision. It is too faintly conscious of

social classes, of other nationalities, other races, other colours that lie outside its everyday frontiers. The moral instruction of children and adolescents must be widened.

Such a conclusion is not forced upon us by ethical lecturers and great thinkers. No, it is forced upon us by events, by the bloody experiences of the war, by the upheaval of the industrial unrest, by the general movement of women towards a new social status. Our nineteenth century fathers had vast reverence for evangelists, learned preachers, and literary essayists such as Emerson, Carlyle, and Lamennais. We are learning to-day from world tragedies, and from apocalyptic lightnings and thunders. Our new teachers lack the collegiate manner, but they have singular power.

Here in England, we are shaken by strikes of miners, railway men, electricians, weavers, and the rest. We have an ancient aristocracy disgusted, a comfortable bureaucracy annoyed, professional classes sometimes complimenting the workers on their war efforts and sometimes bullying them, in cock-a-hoop leading articles, about their lust after wages. Fortunately, our habit of self-government, trained by the politics of a thousand years, will preserve us from anarchy. But the whirlwind is awake in old England. And every honest educationalist demands of himself and his fellow-teachers,—What is to be our contribution towards the reorganization?

It is very easy to put into words, but oh! how enormously difficult to translate into practice! We must create a new heart of citizenship, and broaden the ethical imagination.

Auguste Comte said, "The obligation to serve is common to all." This is a religious principle, noble and pure. It does not imply that some classes are to toil very hard and lustily, while others patronize them with social welfare work and charity organization. I fear that it implies (and may the kind

Destinies help many of us, for we shall sadly need the help!) that every able-bodied citizen should take a share in the mechanical and so-called menial work of the world, and every normal-minded citizen take a share in the spiritual work of the world; each according to natural faculty, and ability to learn. It will not do to say every citizen must labor; for we might still live on a low level of individualism. The labor must be service. It must be the service of a social whole, not of a section. To the ancient Jew, daily duty was illumined by the thought that it was rendered for Jerusalem, a city which was "the joy of the whole earth." Our twentieth century Jerusalem must be our village, our township, our country, our Motherland; and all these are the small symbols of a great humanity. We must avoid idleness (that is, everybody must avoid idleness), because idleness is treason to the vast whole, and not because it mars our personal efficiency and self-development. The conservation of resources, whether of personal health, or of mines, and forests, and fisheries, and water power, must be a sacred office in the grand worship which we call life. I know, as well as the acutest critic of these poor lines of mine, what an immense task of educational meditation, and ingenuity, and poetry must be accomplished in order to kindle our schools, colleges and universities to so great a devotion. I know that we have many and many a century before us and our children. We to-day can begin.

Industry, therefore, should form the basis of education; first, in the sense that each child should be trained to give willing personal service; and secondly, in the sense that, all through the curriculum of schools and colleges, the study of natural resources, of plants, of animals, of minerals, of earth powers, of water powers, of air powers, of machine powers, of powers of invention, art and science, should constitute a prime interest. Does this catalogue ap-

pear dull? Poetry hides behind it. I wrote a piece for children the other day, entitled, "Soda," and parts of it I wrote with tears. It was about the manufacture which clouds some of our dismal Lancashire towns, such as St. Helen's, with smoke and grime,—the manufacture of household soda from chloride of sodium (common salt) by the Le Blanc process. Poor Le Blanc! He was a martyr to his invention. Even the kindergarten child rejoices in the tale of Hercules and his twelve labors, and that tale is part of the history of primitive industry. Coal, iron, wool, cotton, cocoanut, and a thousand and one other articles of commerce have a wealth of romance in the record of their exploitation by the tireless activities of man. And what shall we say of hunting, ranching, tunnelling, irrigating, lumbering, shipmaking and air voyages over the oceans? The history of a loaf of bread is perhaps the most intensely dramatic of all human annals, if only . . . ah, if only we could see a sacramental value where the financier of London or New York sees but merchandise of the elevator.

When one uses, as I have just used, such terms as "poetry," "romance," and "dramatic" in relation to industry, it is not to be supposed that a mere inspection of nature's products and man's machinery can arouse the soul to such issues. The real inspiration comes from history, that is, from the accumulated memories of ages of hope, faith, endurance, valor, love, in the long effort which we call civilization. This inspiration is the key to all true instruction and education. What we call geography, and what we call art, science and ethics, are but handmaids to this supreme motive. Hence, as I think (and in this respect I fear my views will seem all too revolutionary), the story of humanity should form the main line of moral training and civic instruction; I mean the progressive tale of man from caves and pile dwellings and huts to the Covenant of the League

of Nations. All geography then becomes Human Geography, that is, a description of the natural environment of civilization as it unfolded through Antiquity, the Middle Ages and Modernity. Science, art, and literature are accompaniments of this growing life; they are not intellectual and ethical things in themselves. Tell the story of humanity, as given in Bibles, epics, legends, institutions, Notre Dame, Westminster, Independence Hall, and the conquest of forest and prairie by axe and plough; and you will have an inspiration which can dispense with moralizing. This is the source of the religious values which the human soul can give to man's daily industry, material or spiritual. For these values, the kindergarten is a simple and naïve servant; the university itself is but a servant.

Until this spirit of service, based on daily personal industry, and motivated by the splendid Memory which we call History, is active in the community, we shall never attain real citizenship, no matter how correct individual characters may be. This spirit will supply the steady and continuous enthusiasm which will alone reorganize each national existence, knit all sections of labor (now, as in England, too often striving after betterment in limited trade union areas) into a civic whole, impart interest and moral actuality to the administration of village, city, nation, hearten the world's commonwealths in a grand increase of production to replace the wealth destroyed by war, and persuade us all into a more rational use of such wealth, a simpler manner of household living, a happier method of sharing-out. We have in England all the necessary elements for a great change,—awakened labor, powerful combinations of trades unions, a National guilds (industrial) movement, improved school machinery, political habits centuries old, eight million women voters, the beginning of a vast,

new administrative devolution,* yes, all the elements except one: and that is the supreme ethical spirit of which I have been trying to speak. It will evolve in time, here and in America, and all places else. The rate of the evolution will partly depend upon the wisdom of teachers, churches and prophets.

"All places else," I said. I will not now presume to forecast how the Labor Movement, the Woman Movement, and world politics will operate. But I will tell of some educational dreams, especially two; and then bring this survey to an end.

The first is of a method of moral instruction, and education adapted, in its essential lines (always allowing for local variations), for the universal schools and homes of civilization; the chief conceptions being those of Service, Industry, History, and the three words, "Family, Nation, Humanity" concretely symbolizing the objects. The best existing churches can assuredly assist in the preparation. I say this in order to show I am not prompted by merely Negativist motives. But if you carefully study the six key-words just named, you will perceive that the older churches are incompetent to complete the work. We need the co-operation of all the teachers of the globe. Certain teaching methods are already practically universal, as, for example, in arithmetic, the physical sciences, mechanical arts, etc. Another step will carry us to the universal scheme of history and discipline for social service.

The second is an idea I have transmitted to the International Education League in Switzerland, and am publishing in London; and I now lay it, in faith and hope, before American friends. It is the plan of an international reading book for young people,

translated into whatever languages are feasible (including Esperanto),* and consisting of, say, 30 or 40 not-too-long chapters, written in a fraternal spirit, and calculated to foster international goodwill. Ten or twelve contributors, of differing nationalities, might each compose two or three chapters, the editor prefixing an introduction in harmony with the Covenant of the League of Nations. Each contributor would appreciate the history and qualities of some other nationality than his or her own, and each would also illustrate, from the life of his or her own nationality, social service rendered in fields other than the military. It should be observed that the character of the book would be international in the strict sense, not vaguely cosmopolitan. Neither must it be marred by sectional propaganda, whether political, theological, Tolstoyan, or any other. Such an enterprise may never be realized. But even to contemplate it helps one to better understand certain vast world issues. Almost without our noticing it, the world population has rapidly become an organic actuality, partly through the agencies of traders, emigrants and explorers and partly through the influences of the Great War. Mutual comprehension among the members of the world polity is now, not the aspiration of a few visionaries, but a political necessity. I assert also, with all the earnestness of which I am capable, that it cannot be accomplished by sentimental preaching, whether of pacifists or others. It can be accomplished (so far as educational means are applicable to the purpose) by a universal knowledge of the story of our race, an understanding, not necessarily extensive, of the data of Human Geography, and a respect for the constructive moral qualities which govern most men and women of all nationalities and

*I refer to the reconstruction of the British Commonwealth on the basis of a federal group of Dominions,—Ireland, Britain, India, Canada, South Africa, etc. I am convinced this is coming.

*I became an Esperantist in 1918, at the age of 62. I recommend others to begin earlier!

colours. Such a modest volume as I have indicated could not miraculously bring about this mutual comprehension. It would, however, effectively mark the road for yet more useful methods. Perhaps I should add that I have no

notion as to who might conveniently initiate an enterprise so far-reaching and costly, or under what auspices it should be promoted. My present object is just to fling the proposal into the public air.

"LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS"

An appeal for Justice to the Negro

BY BESSIE W. STILLMAN

PROBABLY not one Caucasian American in a thousand has a vivid realization of what race prejudice means to the American Negro. Five months spent in visiting Negro institutions in the South opened my eyes to many things, and I am moved to share with others some of the enlightening experiences of that trip.

We all know that the world is swayed far more by emotion than by reason. Who can tell what progress might not be made if thousands upon thousands of white Americans could feel sympathetically the sting of the invidious discrimination to which colored Americans are daily subjected; if for example they could feel as I felt the first time I sat in a Southern trolley car? There was an empty seat next to me and beside that seat stood a Negro soldier who might not occupy it because he was black and I was white. He was an American soldier who fought or was ready to fight in defense of democracy! I was ashamed to look him squarely in the eyes. As I tried to put myself in his place I wondered that his face did not express bitterness. Instead, it bore the great sadness which is to be seen on so many dark faces.

How unusual it is for a Northern white person to see the South as I saw it, was made evident to me whenever I met a new group of Negroes. Again and again I was told that a Northerner

rarely sees the Negro except through the eyes of the Southern Whites, who know little or nothing of the life of educated Negroes. Rejoicing in my seeing the better homes, the Negro leaders made no attempt to condone the ignorance and degradation of those lowest down. Indeed, they seemed often to judge their own race more harshly than do the Whites who work among them. All they ask is recognition of the fact that there are as many kinds of Negroes as there are of white people, and that all are entitled to justice.

Let me hasten to say, lest unnecessarily I give offense, that I am not writing in a spirit of carping criticism. The North is all too ready to assume the "I am holier than thou" attitude, which is galling to the South, since the difference in the attitude of the two sections toward the Negro was not originally and is not now so much a matter of ethical standards as of economic conditions. I recount my experiences in the South because most of my study of the "Negro problem" has been made there. Many of the experiences might be duplicated or approximated in the North.

By means of a number of illustrations let me try to show how the Negro is daily made conscious that he is considered inferior to white people and not entitled to the rights and privileges accorded them, though he must bear the

inspected that Negro business block in a none too friendly Southern city.

I could give many more illustrations of the galling experiences to which Negroes are daily subjected, but perhaps I have given enough to make it clear that it is almost inevitable that men and women who live in such an atmosphere should be either utterly crushed or filled with smoldering resentment. To me the wonder is that so many of the leaders counsel against bitterness, urging that the race make itself worthy, and, with faith in the fundamental rightness of the great heart of America, believe that in time justice will be done.

But will there ever be justice while the majority of Southerners and a great many Northerners really believe that "all Niggers are alike, a lazy, good-for-nothing lot"?

Right here is where it seems to me we can take hold, letting progressive white Americans know and make known the better class of colored Americans and letting Negro leaders spread a knowledge of the white leaders, who, here and there throughout the country, are making efforts to bridge the chasm and co-operate with Negroes for the good of our common civilization. This thought is happily expressed by a prominent Negro: * "If the public press of the country could be led to adopt a national attitude of seeking and giving publicity to the better side of Negro character and life, of emphasizing the better side of racial co-operation and racial relations, much good would be accomplished."

This policy is being carried out by the Southern Publicity Committee, a group of progressive white Southerners, who are sending out accounts of efforts toward greater justice and examples of co-operation between the races.

* *The Negro and National Reconstruction.*
By George E. Haynes, Director of Negro Economics of the United States Department of Labor.

Then there is the Southern Sociological Congress which for a number of years has been studying the problem seriously. Several volumes published by this association give an idea of the scope of its endeavor, notably, *The Human Way*, and *Democracy in Earnest*.

While I note with pleasure this constructive work—and there are other agencies which I cannot dwell upon for lack of space—I would not be understood as minimizing the gravity of the situation. It seems to many as if numbers of Negroes had about come to the end of their endurance of injustice and contempt. The following is quoted from a speech delivered in January, 1919, by a Northern white man: "Within a few days it will be twenty-five years since I came down South to work among Negroes and never in those years have I known a time when conditions were as critical." He then went on to plead with the audience, composed chiefly of Negroes, for restraint and wisdom in dealing with troublesome situations.

A Negro doctor expressed her views on after-war conditions as she drove me out to see a Negro hospital. "We hoped for better things because of co-operation during the war," she said. "The white women urged us to work with them and cordially accepted our hearty response, and we were filled with hope and goodwill. Within twenty-four hours after the signing of the armistice there was a difference in their attitude." She then gave a number of illustrations which seemed to prove her statement, and continued: "The white people are afraid that the returning soldiers will be 'obstreperous,' and so they want to show us our place.' And they have started the Ku Klux Klan again. Before, the Ku Klux worked on our ignorance and superstition. They have a different type of Negro to deal with now but they don't realize that. There will be trouble . . . I was born in the South and have lived here most of my life. I have loved the

South, and have never been bitter till now, but now I am bitter, *bitter*, BITTER."

I reported the doctor's statements to a Southern white woman of great breadth and earnestness. She looked very grave as she said: "Among the Negroes a spirit of ugly aggression is growing; on the part of the Whites prejudice is cracking in spots. Prejudice never works by reason, it will not go all at once. It *must* go in time, but the Negroes have come about to the end of their trust and patience. This makes it harder for white people who are working for justice. The Negroes are stirred up over every little thing and *we* are to blame." It would be well to remember that what some would call "ugly aggression" would be regarded by others as proper self respect.

There is no question but that there is great unrest and anxiety throughout the South, but recent events have borne in upon us forcibly the fact that this is not a Southern but a national question. Many feel that it is the biggest question in democracy facing the United States to-day. Southern Negroes, leaving behind them, as they have thought, injustice in the courts, unequal distribution of school funds, hatred which might at any moment break out into violence, have come North as to an Eldorado. And what have they found? Wherein does the refined Negro find greater redress in New York City than in Charleston when the landlord of his apartment lets the property run down as soon as Negro families move in? What protection was there for the colored pupil whose teacher gave him second rank, though recognizing that he deserved first, because she would "never give the highest mark to a Nigger"?

The law of New York State forbids discrimination "on account of race, creed or color" in "places of public accommodation, resort, or amusement." Of what avail is this to a cultivated

Negro who is permitted to enter a restaurant, but is not served, and perhaps is stared at by a group of waiters lined up for the purpose? Or to the college graduate who would treat his friend at a soda fountain and is served with "the worst stuff I ever tasted"? Or to weary, colored travelers who seek the rest and refreshment of a good hotel only to be told that all the rooms are taken, while they see their fellow white applicants comfortably booked? Or to the cultured and well-to-do Negro, who, having secured a ticket admitting him to the orchestra, sees the doorman "by mistake" tear off and throw into the box the wrong end of the ticket, that designating the seat number, and who, with profuse apologies, is then offered another ticket, in the top gallery, since, "unfortunately all the other seats are sold"? Where can colored parents, who are striving to rear their children in refinement, send them to learn dancing or swimming or to participate in simple amusements under wholesome conditions? Where can they take them for their summer vacations?

"What can a Negro do?" What would you—that they should have their own hotels, restaurants, theatres, etc? They form only ten per cent of the population of the country. While their progress has been remarkable—I heard a Southern white man say to a mixed audience that no other instance is known to history of a race making such rapid progress in sixty years—yet there are few wealthy Negroes. It is unreasonable to look for many years to come for such a solution as that suggested above. Moreover, it is not the solution in keeping with the tenets of true democracy, nor is it the solution which will bring nearer the Brotherhood of Man. With Tolstoi I say, "The most important thing in life is for man to unite with man; and the worst thing is to go apart from one another."

A PROGRAM FOR THE AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION

BY ROBERT D. KOHN

AS ONE outcome of the war considerable interest is being displayed among professional men as to the nature of their obligation to serve the public either directly or through the governmental machine. In March of this year a committee of architects, representing every state in the union, issued a "post-war" program of inquiry, devoted in a large measure to an attempt to discover whether or not that profession was really providing or qualified to provide the kind and the extent of service requisite to the common good; or was in the main serving only one class in the community.

More recently another group of engineers and architects has suggested the holding of a congress or conference of technical men to discuss, among other things, by what means public opinion may be formed as to the need of the technical expert in government. They argue that the experiences of the war have shown how rare it is for any but men of commonplace qualifications to find a place in the normal governmental machine. Except in an emergency the men of great skill are rarely in the service of the public. During the war it seemed as if only by accident was the right man found for the right place. Men of admirable technical qualifications were placed in unimportant positions where their knowledge was of no avail, and men of less or other abilities were placed in equally unfitting jobs. Certain uncomprehending Congressmen even protested against the use of committees of manufacturers to advise the War Department on methods and qualities of materials. The moment a group of men as a result of years of experience knew all about a matter then they were not to be consulted on that

subject. They could not be trusted to be honest on a matter they knew all about. Some one else who knew nothing about it should by all means be charged with the responsibility. Fortunately this absurd principle did not entirely prevail, else we would, indeed, have been in a sadder plight.

It appears, then, to this group of technical men that nothing is now more important to good government than to find a way whereby the right kind of expert technical service may be required and supplied for municipal, state and federal government. They believe that the first step is through public education as to the distinctive service rendered by each profession and that such education can be secured by the cooperation of groups of men of the different professions working together in each community. One of the methods suggested is that of arranging for a course of addresses on the significant and distinctive functions and service rendered by each profession, to be given in the high schools and colleges of the country; in each community a group of men of each profession giving the addresses on their particular profession. Incidentally, this plan, if carried out, will not only be of great educational value to the students, but it may in the end help the professional men to clarify and distinguish their own social functions.

This scheme for an inter-professional "Social Service" Conference* is singularly interesting in view of the plan for the coming year's work adopted by the American Ethical Union Executive

* On August 16 the directors of the American Institute of Architects voted to join other professional organizations to further this plan.

Committee at the Pocono meeting of June 28th. Without knowing of the plan of the technical men, this earlier plan parallels the other on one side in a particularly significant way, and justifies the effort that has been made to bring together the inter-professional conference and that of the American Ethical Union for the same time and meeting place. In order to understand the advantages of such an event it is essential that we attempt a detailed statement of our own purposes and the reasons for their adoption.

At the conference held at Glenmore in the fall of 1917, it had already been decided to accept as a program for the American Ethical Union during the following year the problem of making permanent the worth while elements of the enthusiastic war-time aid to the government on the part of the different vocations, and to attempt, also, to organize an American Association for the Advancement of Ethical Standards among men of the various professions. For different reasons neither of these plans was carried out. It was found that the time was not propitious to forward the first scheme because of the changes found necessary during the first year of the war in the type of service rendered to the government by the various vocations.

When the director of the Council of National Defense was approached on the subject late in 1917 he pointed out that a radical reorganization of these group services was even then in process. Previously, leading men of various vocations had been chosen by the Council at random, according to their best judgment, without any formal consultation with trade and professional organizations. Indeed many trades, professions, and businesses were not organized as such. While such men were earnest in their desire to serve, they had failed to secure complete co-operation in their respective fields because their selection was not in any way a function of the organized vocations. In the Spring of

1918 the Council of National Defense was furthering an effort to organize all the vocations and industries nationally. When so organized they were to select their own representative committees for government war service. In the opinion of those members of the Council of National Defense who were approached on the subject, it was this condition of change which made it undesirable to give any publicity to the methods of co-operation then in vogue. Although this made impossible the carrying out of one feature of our program, it is interesting to note that the new forms of organization afterwards developed were more effective than those originally planned, and showed conclusively one valuable element that lies in vocational representation.

An illustration to the point is that of the lumbermen. As long as the membership of the Committee on Lumber of the Council of National Defense was merely the choice of some one in authority in the government, it was found that it was not thoroughly effective, even though every member of the Committee was an authority on lumber. When the lumber producing industry had been organized nationally (the principal regional associations having been brought together), and this national combination elected its committee to co-ordinate the work of the totality of the industry for the advantage of the government's war-time effort, then this committee was able much more effectively to enlist the co-operation of every branch of lumber production. Its authority was greater because those subject to it recognized an obligation to their self-chosen representatives and leaders.

The bringing together of a group of professional men for the organization of an American Association for the Advancement of Ethical Standards was also to meet with serious obstacles. Almost all of the leading men whose interest could be enlisted in such a movement were already deeply involved in

government service of one kind or another, and few could be found who felt that they could then afford the time to take up the matter during the stress of war work. They suggested that the carrying out of the plan be postponed until conditions changed. The Chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Ethical Union was himself drafted into the government service shortly thereafter, and the project was dropped until this spring.

At this year's June Conference, previously referred to, the situation with regard to the program of 1917 was canvassed, and it was decided that these same subjects were still the most important that the Union could undertake to further. It was agreed that a meeting of the American Ethical Union should be held during the Thanksgiving week-end, 1919, in Detroit. The first part of the program is to consist of a series of delegate meetings devoted to the discussion of internal problems of the Ethical Societies. The second part is to include one or two public meetings at which an attempt will be made to carry out the purposes originally planned for 1917, though in a somewhat different form better adapted to the needs of the post-war situation. It is this latter subject which now justifies the most careful study and planning on the part of the Union.

The idea back of our plan is that it will be an admirable piece of work for the American Ethical Union to undertake to be the medium through which various vocational groups are brought together for the study of the social significance of their ethical standards, their relations to each other, to the fundamental professional principle, and the nature of their services as to quality and quantity when related to the social need for these services. It is recognized that groups of lawyers, physicians, engineers, educators, social workers and others have developed standards of ethics within their own groups, which they consider for the

time being sufficiently advanced (and sufficiently difficult to have generally accepted!). The development of such standards may continue to be more comprehensive within these several groups than in an Ethical Society where the number in any one vocation is naturally limited. But it is probably also true that such ethical standards are largely self-regarding; they deal with relationships within these groups. Comparatively little has been done to consider the relation of the group to other groups or to the general social welfare as represented by the public at large. It would be particularly fitting for the American Ethical Union to be the medium whereby these groups are brought together for such purposes, because the basis of the Ethical Movement is the idea that we must establish right relations between individuals and between groups, and right relations are defined as being those that do not hamper but help to bring out the distinctive contribution that each individual and each group may make to the common good. The study of what such relations shall be can best be made jointly though it must necessarily be based on the consideration of the distinctive function of each vocation. This part of the work would parallel (as regards the professions) the studies made in England under the auspices of the Fabian Society by Sidney and Beatrice Webb.

When the Conference suggested that the next public meeting of the American Ethical Union should be devoted to the discussion of the fundamentals of this study of inter-relation between vocations, it proposed to start with professional men, not because they were more advanced ethically than manufacturers, business men or craftsmen, but because the problem is thus simplified. Professional men are already integrated in more distinctly marked groups, groups that already have a certain conscious unity. Later on the study will have to be extended to include all vo-

cations so that it may really reach right conclusions because based on an all-inclusive foundation.

If it is asked why the American Ethical Union should undertake a task of this kind, we may reply that nothing could be in reality more in accord with the fundamental principles of the Ethical Movement. The time is right for a restatement of those principles in their application to this present-day problem.

Everywhere men are saying that things are not right. Some cannot understand the unrest. They find that they cannot depend on people continuing to do what they have been doing before; the workman is dissatisfied; he is making outrageous demands; he is restricting production and so forth. The worker on the other hand replies that he is not getting his fair share of things; the employer is restricting production himself in other ways, and he, the worker, does not propose to be a puppet any longer. Every one wants to blame some one else for our present difficulties. Only a few are beginning to ask themselves whether their own relations are exactly right to those with whom they come in daily contact. And yet if our faith is well founded, it is in the study of right relations that a solution is to be found. Many people think that everything in the world was right until the war upset them. Now at least some have been shocked by the results of the war into doubting the eternal wisdom of things as they are or were. We must hope that that doubt will grow so that eventually a majority of the people will realize that conditions and relationships might be bettered, for on that all progress is dependent.

The time then seems propitious for a frank inquiry into the specific relationships between people. In such an inquiry we are sure the doctrines of the Ethical Movement can be enormously helpful. We have long maintained that our relationships must be such as to help to secure for the common good the distinctive contribution of which every

human being is capable, and that only such relationships tend toward rightness which further this end. During the war there was an acknowledged common cause. Everyone was therefore expected to do his best to help that common cause. But with the coming of peace the enthusiasm was quickly spent. To be true to our principles we should maintain that same sense of dependency of all on each, and must at least try to realize some measure of its possibilities. This force may become, if we can make it specific, the truly religious thing in democracy. In practice, however, its potency can only be realized by means of actual attempts at creating right relations within groups of workers in any one vocation, and as between groups in different vocations. They must be moved to want to establish such relationships one to the other as to make possible a greater development of their service, and a greater contribution, on the part of each, of its distinctive qualities. The development of the idea and its possibilities for real good will, in the main, come out of the process of the attempt to establish them. The ideal will not even be approximated but will remain imperfect for an infinite length of time; here as elsewhere in ethical experimentation the real advantage will be gained by the education that will come through the process of attempting to secure the end.

The men of every vocation must be encouraged to ask: Are our present ethical standards self-regarding, or are they really right in regard to the public interest? Such an inquiry will naturally develop into the study of the adequacy of the social service rendered, but also will have to face the question: Are we in right relation to those who serve us? for every one of these professional men is also an employer. Do doctors and lawyers, engineers and architects consider themselves as employers? Do they clearly realize their relations with those who work for or with them as being something that must

make for the development of the individuality in each one who for the time being is under their direction? Does the relationship advance the education of their assistants? Is it such as will make the most of the intellectual capital latent within the assistant or indeed in the employer? If the professions fail to work out this essential problem of right relationship, how can industry be expected to work it out? Do not the professions offer an excellent ground for an experiment in "industrial democracy"?

Two illustrations might here be given as to the practicability of the application of our fundamental ethical principles to present-day professional problems. Many of the best known professional organizations of this country have always been exclusive in a technical sense. They have in general limited their membership to the most able, most cultured, best educated representatives of the several professions. Although their standards of admission vary, and some are liberal in the interpretation of ethical and technical requirements, there are on the whole many exclusions from membership in our national professional organizations.

The new view of right relationship as being a relationship that must be established for the vocation in its entirety, has caused at least one recently formed organization to attempt to work with the entire body of citizens practicing that particular profession within the state, whether as employer or employee. It recognizes that no solution can be found to the question of right relationship as between the profession and the public unless it includes within its membership, high and low, ethical and unethical, the poorest in qualifications as well as the best. The strong must help to raise the weak, and the entire vocation—all those who earn a living by it—must move forward together as a totality, accepting a fundamental relation to the whole body politic before any one of the members of the

profession can really be in right relations with any other. This idea is founded on principles in close concordance with our own basis of agreement in the Ethical Movement and it behooves us to further it.

An illustration in another field may be found in an experiment which is being tried in the office of a group of architects. They have brought together in periodical meetings the professional men, architects, engineers, draftsmen, indeed all the employees including the stenographers and the office boy, into one group for the joint study of every problem which the organization is expected to meet. The whole establishment has been turned towards considering itself an educational institution—a continuation school whereby, through the joint study of all the problems that are brought forward, the education of both the masters and the men may be furthered, the masters clearly recognizing their duty to be to help the men towards eventual independent practice, at least towards a development of their distinctive individuality. The new relationship thus being approached will not only make the whole business of life more decent and self-respecting to the participants but it will unquestionably furnish the medium for the development of a sense of group obligation.

There are doubtless many other and more significant such evidences of a new order of things and it was high time that the American Ethical Movement turned its efforts towards helping in these ethical problems of vocational organizations. There we have a field of work in which we are qualified to be of real service. We will recognize that the distinctive internal problems of each profession and also between professions are to be met within distinctive professional groups in so far as these involve self-regarding ethical standards, but we will make it our task to bring together groups of different professions to consider their external obligations;

bring them in touch with groups from the vocations and from the business world in which the professional idea* is not yet a living force, and thus by the reaction of one kind of established ethical relationship on the ideals of another, develop a new type of inter-group ethical standards, a sort of fourth dimension ethical relationship of which we have at the present time but a bare conception. Such an attempt has enormous possibilities for good; among many other things it will throw the light of experience on the possibilities of vocational representation in government.

The American Ethical Union, in accepting this as its program for the next Conference, is fathering a tremendously important move. It has a real piece of work to do, one worthy of a national organization. It can only be done by an earnest effort of the workers of each Society. We will be helped by the technical conference to be held in Detroit at the same time.

The task before us is to prepare for our own autumn conference by finding the men who can contribute some element essential to the consideration of our particular contribution to this important topic. We should bring together not only physicians and lawyers, who are socially minded, but teachers, social workers, and the leaders of industry who have seen the light, to the extent that they have come out of individualism, through class consciousness to a realization of the need of something higher. Thus we can advance the establishment of a relationship in which each group through its vocational distinction is related to all the others in a way to further the development of those values in their distinctiveness (and in each individual) which are for the common good. By some such effort, testing its conclusions step by step in service to the state, a new and better order of things is surely to be created.

A COMMUNICATION

Mark Twain the Philosopher

SIR:

The characteristically well written paper of Mr. Bridges's in the July issue of THE STANDARD, entitled "The Pessimism of Mark Twain," pays such splendid tribute to the man, while dismissing his philosophy so sweepingly at the same time, that the question of the relation of a man's philosophy to his life, is rather seriously suggested. There is a rather definite intimation that a man can live largely, beautifully, and effectively, even ideally, on an entirely false philosophy. The inference that philosophy plays such a minor part in life is one that would not be especially palatable to men who have given their best effort in life to the study of the questions which the word suggests.

*By the "professional idea" is meant the consideration of one's vocation as a service in which money making is not the principle end.

Mark Twain's greatness was the greatness of the America of his day. His life touched every great phase of American life in his time. His genius was the flower of American pioneering experience. Just as America was studying its own resources, developing them, organizing them, and capitalizing them, Mark Twain, as an integral part of that life, was adventuring into the mysteries of his own nature. Like Walt Whitman, Henry Rogers, in fact like most of the really great men of his time in this country, he was an individualist. The dominant note in the American point of view in his time, perhaps for all time, was the note of individual initiative and individual responsibility. The little study called *What is Man?* is in no sense representative of Mark Twain's real thought, and in a study of his philosophy, it is not entirely "ethical" to dwell on it as his last word. Perhaps it was his little tribute to a god that he did not know, but merely "suspected," and perhaps also he postulated this influence, not at all, as Mr. Bridges suggests, in order that he might beat the last grain of moral credit out of man,

but that he might follow the dictates of his great warm heart, and forgive man entirely for all the stupidity and cruelty which he saw man perpetuating. Certainly such an interpretation is more in keeping with those qualities of mind in which Mark is so generously conceded to have excelled.

But it is in *The Mysterious Stranger* that the last and farthest reach of thought is projected, and the work itself gives every evidence of being the product of the profoundest and maturest study of which the man was capable. It dovetails readily with his earlier works and with his life. It has in it the same giant fearlessness and the same never failing sympathy for the suffering and insight into the nature and cause of human weakness, that characterized his whole life. It is a final word on individualism and the ultimate solitude of every human soul. The last picture of the little lad as he stands in isolation in the empty universe, is tragic and pathetic in its terrible truth, a truth which happily is far in the background of every every-day, happy-go-lucky life. But nevertheless, it is a truth that every great pioneer knows. It is a truth the knowledge of which gives one the power to understand the new ideas, new types, ab-

normal, subnormal or supernormal, just as one chooses, and above all it is a truth which by a mystic quality all its own, and by a contradiction, unites people into the very finest and freest friendships. That long, long friendship between Twain and Howells, or between Twain and Rogers, could rest only on the mutual understanding that each man was alone in the universe, with his own purposes, his own special prejudices, and his entire right to be a fool in his very own special way if he chose, and as a result of this very isolation of each party, the need for friendship and companionship and mutual helpfulness within the limitations of the condition, was obvious to each, and answered accordingly.

All that is claimed for Mark Twain in the passage from Paine's biography to which Mr. Bridges takes exception, is that Mark Twain was "one of the foremost American philosophers of his day." That is a very modest claim. It is conditioned three ways. He was "one" and he was "American" and he was "of his day." In the judgment of some, the claim is the claim for a crumb, to deny which is to be parsimonious indeed.

F. GUY DAVIS,

Chicago, Illinois, July 22, 1919.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE NEW STATE: GROUP ORGANIZATION THE SOLUTION OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT. By Mary P. Follett. Longmans, Green and Company. Pp. 373.

"Our political life is stagnating, capital and labor are virtually at war, the nations of Europe are at one another's throats, because we have not yet learned how to live together. . . . The twentieth century must find a new principle of association. Crowd philosophy, crowd government, crowd patriotism must go. . . . Group organization is to be the new method. . . . Democracy is not brute members; it is a genuine union of true individuals; . . . and man finds himself only through group organization. . . . The essence of freedom is fullness of relation. . . . The core of the social process is the harmonizing of difference through interpenetration. . . . The ignoring of differences is the most fatal mistake in politics or industry or international life; every difference that is swept up into a bigger conception feeds and enriches society; every difference which is ignored feeds on society and eventually corrupts it. The unifying of difference is the

creative process. Every man sharing in the creative process is democracy."

These sentences point the thesis of an exceedingly inviting volume. The author has observed the world's growing discontent with the orthodox conception of the state as the instrument through which the popular will is effectuated by majorities. She has noted how labor unions, chambers of commerce, neighborhood associations, mothers' clubs and other self-created groups have come more and more to exercise public influence and at the same time to call forth in their members a more vivid sense of personal responsibility for the public good than the mere registering of a vote once a year can give. She looks forward in consequence to a new type of government where these voluntary organizations will promote with increasing effectiveness this double task of making the state genuinely representative and permitting to the individual a real participation in the collective life.

Miss Follett's criticisms of present conceptions are penetrating. To the average man democracy means everybody for himself, or else—and frequently in reaction against

this particularism—it means crowds. Our party system wants crowds, herds, voters, more than it wants creative men and women. Our intensified nationalisms further encourage this tendency. So, in spite of their libertarian avowals, do such mass movements as Syndicalism. The acceptance of this crowd fallacy has vitiated much of our current social philosophy and social psychology. Imitation and suggestion have been over-emphasized at the expense of other expressions of social spirit, notably to the neglect of the function of the group spirit as creator.

As against the atomistic and the crowd conceptions the author invites us to consider the values in the interactions of true groups. A genuine group idea, she explains, is neither the product of mass suggestion nor the deliberately accepted majority idea, but an idea to which every member has actually contributed his unique utmost. Nor is it the mere sum of a series of individual thoughts. It is a result qualitatively different from a bare total because in the process of discussion the various unlikenesses have interpenetrated. A group of friends, for example, will often rise from an animated discussion with a new thought bigger than any one alone could have offered, with a sense that each has made some contribution and with a deepened consciousness of the bond uniting the group. A true group, that is, instead of merely adding up or rejecting differences, welcomes each and synthesizes all into a composite richer for these very divergences. It is for the purpose of creating some such syntheses that the new state is to be organized around the idea of the interaction of voluntary groups.

Tendencies in this direction the author finds in abundance. She notes the use of group activities in the better school practice, the welcoming of group offerings from communities of the foreign born, the growing interest in the joint control of industry by groups of masters and men. She endorses the project of representation in legislatures on the basis of vocational interest rather than of geography even though the vocational interest is only one of many interests, equally, if not more, entitled to expression. She finds the most hopeful tendency to-day in neighborhood association. This type of organization, illustrated by community councils, school centers and local civics clubs, gives the individual a chance to make his contribution in matters of recognizedly vital concern. It makes responsibility concrete. It can be made to put the individual into living touch, through his group, with the more inclusive groups of city, state,

nation and world. The chief reason for her insistence upon this type of association is that belonging as people do to so many kinds of groups to-day, there is need for the association which interprets and correlates the work of these others in terms simple and vivid enough to bring home to all the members the idea of the whole.

The new state is to be the integration of neighborhood groups. A second chamber in the legislature is to consist of representatives chosen on occupational lines, teachers, parents, doctors, etc., being selected by their own groups of fellow workers for their special expertness in these callings. Every group—neighborhood and occupational—must of course, be a genuine group. For example, though Miss Follett appreciates heartily the values in the labor union movement, in Syndicalism and Guild Socialism, she says: "Few trade unionists in demanding that their organization shall be the basis of the new state examine that organization to see what right it has to make this demand. Most trade unionists are satisfied in their own organizations with a centralized government or an outworn representative system" (page 324).

The closing chapter applies the group federation idea to the international system: "International peace is never coming by an increase of similarities. . . . If it were true that we ought to increase the likenesses between nations, then it would be legitimate for each nation to try to impose its ideals upon others" (page 345).

The student of political science will put his finger on many pages of this book and say, "Impractical." The criticism is discounted by the author's recognition that many an experiment will have to be made before the best machinery is found for creating the living interaction of true groups. The chief service rendered by the volume is to ask us to think out root causes for the growing dissatisfaction with our present political mechanism and to survey the problem in the light of the larger problem of life as association. The political scientist thinks that he can dispense with this labor of the philosophers. Miss Follett shows us where he has been led astray by his unconscious acceptance of a false philosophy and a false psychology. Her aim is to help substitute truer backgrounds. To this end, the most fruitful thought in the book is the conception of the progressively richer unities created by the interpenetration of diversities.

The ethics unfortunately is hedonistic:

"The joy of union with the larger whole" is made the motive of integration. One could wish that appeal were directed to motives of a higher order. As a matter of fact there is no keener joy than that of the patriot who, rejoicing in his own commitment to a larger whole, browbeats opposition to his particular type of self-surrender. If joy is the motive, is it any wonder that most individuals will be quite satisfied to "integrate" on lines of their own choosing?

H. N.

IRELAND: A STUDY IN NATIONALISM. By Francis Hackett. B. W. Huebsch. Pp. 404.

It is at once humorous and pathetic that Mr. Hackett, having set out to write a study of Lady Desart's tobacco plantations and woolen mills—a worthy effort towards Irish rehabilitation in industry—ended by inditing this close-packed argument for Home Rule. The wool and tobacco make their bow in the introduction, and are heard of no more. Instead, Mr. Hackett sounds the ancient Gaelic pipes, and adds his plea to the hundred years and hundred shelves of Irishmen's pleas against England and on behalf of their own land.

The book is rich in psychologic insight, in wit and in reason. The author will have nothing to do with the "slave morality" that in some of his countrymen, especially of the Catholic hierarchy, sees in Ireland's poverty an opportunity for religious idealism. Low diet and insanitary living, he insists, result rather in lean thinking and a pale culture. The grim section, "The Dance of Death," in the chapter entitled "Holy Poverty" cannot be read by anyone who knows whereof the writer speaks, without feelings of horror. In his discussion of remedies he urges the economic needs of Ireland as first and foremost. And, in the matter of self-government, he will have nothing to do with the anaemic constitution, insulting in its distrusts, which Mr. Asquith's Parliament first agreed to and then held up. Dominion government he claims to be the only form suited to give the Irish mind a true opportunity of political experience and expression. Strangely enough, Mr. Hackett does not seem to have studied dominion government to the point where he would discover in the Canadian system (which Mr. Stephen Gwynne is now urging on the remaining non-separatists) an appropriate means of composing the differences which still distract Ireland itself.

Pen portraits of Parnell, Redmond and other leaders help to heighten the illumination of an exceptionally brilliant book. As an Irishman-in-America the writer has "stood away off," and seen much that home-keeping Irishmen and Americans will both be the wiser for reading.

G. E. O'D.

SHEVKS. By R. Beazley, N. Forbes, and G. A. Birkett. Introduction by E. Barker. Clarendon Press. Pp. 601. Maps and Bibliography.

Most of the works on Russia at the present time either tell bits of the story of the Revolution or sketch impressions of the country as it is to-day. The volume before us gives only part of a chapter to the March Revolution. It tells the antecedents of that event as far back as the days of Rurik, four centuries before the Tartar invasion of 1237.

Book I, by Raymond Beazley, Professor of Modern History in the University of Birmingham, describes the old free Russia when Kiev and Novgorod were great democratic trading communities of a spirit wholly opposed to autocracy. Then it narrates the coming of the Tartars and the founding of the Muscovite empire by Ivan the Great. The consummation of Great Russia from 1505 to 1800 is then treated in Book II by Dr. Nevill Forbes of the Slavonic department in Oxford. This account is chiefly the story of the expansion of Russia east and west, the building and unifying of a huge empire by stark force. The third book, by G. A. Birkett, lecturer in Russian in the University of Sheffield. Takes us from the reigns of Paul and Alexander I down to our own day. It tells in the main how the problems of a mediæval and semi-oriental civilization were complicated by the closer contact with the thought of the West. In the light of to-day's history, it is especially interesting to read the pages on the December rising under Nicholas I in 1825, the "great reforms" under Alexander II, the triumphs of the reactionary forces, the revolution of 1905, and the subsequent swing to reaction again.

While economic and social forces are considered in the book, the main emphasis is put on political development. One could wish also that more space were given to the psychology of the Russians, especially as revealed in their literature. On the whole, however, the book enables one to trace rather fairly the causes of the March revolution and to appreciate the reasons that made the old Russia a standing menace to the world's peace.

An introductory remark by Ernest Barker may be cited: "The French Revolution was the revolution of a united country—a country around the common hearth of Paris, in spite of federalist or royalist movements in the southwest and the west, with an intimate and enduring unity. Russia was essentially disunited—a country of many centres, many nationalities, many languages, many creeds. There is also another difference. The French Revolution was political rather than social; it sprang more from the bourgeoisie than from the proletariat. Socialism, all the more advanced in proportion as Russia herself was less advanced in her economic development than other states, had been a force many years before the Revolution. Social disruption, no less than political was the product of the Revolution of 1917. The French Revolution instead of disrupting France,

RUSSIA, FROM THE VARANGIANS TO THE BOL-

produced a national and social unity which carried her safely through more than twenty years of war."

H. N.

INDIA AND THE FUTURE. By William Archer. Alfred A. Knopf. Pp. 326.

Since the publication of Max Mueller's memorable monographs on India, we have seen no book on the subject more thoroughly satisfying. For, the author has brought to his treatment of it, clarity of vision, sanity of judgment and mastery of an attractive style, three prerequisites for ranking a book on the vexed questions of India in the first class.

After prolonged residence in "the Italy of Asia," the author felt "obsessed" by its problems and gradually there grew upon him the idea that there is "but one honorable desirable and fortunate consummation to the great adventure" (p. 2). It is this idea that informs the pages of his book. He justifies his addition to "the mountainous mass of Anglo-Indian literature" by the fact that he had something to say, "not fully, explicitly and dispassionately said before" (p. 3). Mr. Archer holds that "many a long year will have to pass before India is ripe for self-government" (p. 21) and a goodly portion of his volume is devoted to explication of this conviction. He thinks "it might have been better for India had her geographical unity not been so incontestable,—if she had been broken up into clearly marked states of manageable size" (p. 45). But given such unity as she has, "her fitness for political enfranchisement can be proved only as she frees herself from caste and its subsidiary evils" (p. 149). Particularly illuminating is the chapter on "The Indian Opposition," in which are set forth the grievances, material and moral, against British rule. Very emphatic is the author in his contention that England's rule in India is a means, not an end, and his concern is both deep and sincere that if the end—self-government—for India be not achieved that history shall not find the *tragische Schuld* in England's unintelligence (p. 318). Evidently, Mr. Archer is in accord with the Chelmsford-Montagu Pronouncement of August, 1917, which stated the policy of England in India to be "the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire,"—a proposition tacitly accepted by both the House of Commons and the House of Lords, yet fraught with the gravest difficulties when sought to be practically fulfilled, so far are ninety-five per cent of the people of India from preparedness for self-government, so complex are the issues involved for Britain's welfare if she act prematurely in dispensing with British rule.

The book is handsomely illustrated and artistically published.

A. W. M.

NATIONALISM. By Sir R. Tagore. The Macmillan Company. Pp. 159. Price, \$1.25.

This volume, like *Sadhana* and *Gitanjali* which preceded it, is a collection of prose-poems. They concern Nationalism in the West (meaning more especially England), in Japan, and in India. Taken as a whole the book is an indictment of the western state "organized for power and self-aggrandizement." Very unfortunate, because so often confusing, is the author's use of the word "nation," when he means "state," e. g. (p. 28). "I have a deep love of the British race." Then, following his encomium on the people, he says: "As for the nation, it is for us a thick mist of a stifling nature covering the sun itself. This government by the nation is neither British nor anything else." Obviously, he means to distinguish between the people, whose life, literature, traditions and aspirations constitute the *nation* and the system of government by which they (and the people of India) are organized and their destiny directed, which is the *state*. The reader is certain to go astray in his interpretation of Tagore's thought if he keep not this distinction in mind—When Tagore declares that Nationalism is "a crude epidemic of evil," what he means to condemn is western states, like England and America, "organized for power." The problem of Nationalism, in its bearing upon eventual complete independence for India, he does not discuss, nor does he deal with the allied doctrine that a state and a nation should be territorially synonymous,—what President Wilson called the "self-dependence of nationalities." The author's hope for the future is the destruction, by the western states, of the machinery for power and self-aggrandizement which they created.

A. W. M.

THE ABOLITION OF INHERITANCE. By Harlan Eugene Read. The Macmillan Company. Pp. 312.

Mr. Read recently stood for a high office in the State of Missouri and was beaten. It is evidence at least of his probity that prior to the election he should have issued a book so little calculated to assist his chances. For while, as an economic individualist, he does not attack the supposed common right to make all the money one can, he does tilt, with great force and slashing argument, at one of the main baits for the money-maker—the opportunity to "found a family" raised above the need to work.

The book is concerned both with the abolition of economic misery consequent on the

inheritor's call on others' labor, and with saving the inheritor himself from the demoralizing effects of his unearned wealth. Hence it has a high ethical note throughout. The author's facts and figures regarding poverty may be very trite to a Socialist or *Survey* supporter; but to the people who will read his book from the curiosity of a private interest they may come as a wholesome shock. And they will find his case against themselves no pleasant reading. Also anyone should find it a crushing case, so far as it goes, who has been used to think of ideal American democracy as implying the "square deal," especially in that elementary form of it, the toe-the-line start in the race for prosperity.

Mr. Read's argument is at first very perplexing, until one discovers his guiding individualism—and then it is not easy to see how that individualism can carry it and not collapse under the weight. For awhile it is difficult to decide whether Mr. Read believes the Kingdom of Heaven must be taken piecemeal and he will not prejudice by side excursions the achievement of his particular piece—or whether he is not perhaps a Socialist writing for millionaires and bent on converting them not by overt appeal but by series of loud hints.

For almost every blow that he levels at the unfortunate inheritor of his father's wealth is of the sort to knock over the father also with the mere wind of it, were he there to feel it. Every cent the father, while living, spends on giving his son a better education than the common man, is an injustice to the latter—at least if the object of abolishing inheritance is to get rid of the advantage of privilege in the race for prosperity. Again, Mr. Read argues (very finely—indeed no one interested in the development of social ethics can afford to miss reading his book) that it is demoralizing to live on the labor of others, and especially when those others are themselves living, for it is an illusion that the inheritor lives on the labor of the dead—a statement true surely only with some qualification, as for instance in the matter of the privileged enjoyment of works of art and other goods already extant.

But while the author fastens on this moral aspect of the matter in so far as it affects the inheritor, his whole case bears a certain air of unreality because for the most part he stops there. There are occasional suggestions that all great accumulations of wealth are morally suspect; hints on the side that all forms of privilege must be eliminated; but no bold recognition and statement that the real Hamlet in the play is the ethics of wealth accumulation, whether inherited or not. For it would surely argue a strange oversight not to have thought that if the living man who pays his luxurious way out of inherited money may be a means of demoralization, the dead man, if he acquired that wealth in part by sweating the brows of his employees may have been (as his living counterparts still may be) a greater source of demoralization. Indeed his heir, if money be invested in enterprises con-

ducted with a more up-to-date decency, may do less mischief than the father who accumulated the wealth he now enjoys. It is not the ethics of the proverbial Solomon's son ("For he must leave it unto the man that shall be after him, and who knoweth whether he shall be a wise man or a fool? And I perceived that this also is vanity") that is the fundamental matter for consideration, but the ethics of Solomon himself; and that once settled, the ethics of inheritance will follow from the original principle, whatever this ought to be.

The difficulties of an individualism seeking to be generously social in its effects are seen in the way Mr. Read is driven to dodge his own case the moment anybody seems likely to suffer by the acceptance of it. Either his case is ethical or it is not. Mr. Read insists that it is—but then he cannot fairly stop short when he comes in sight of the small inheritance, as he does. He would leave that alone—and so a certain number of persons are to continue to have an unfair advantage, a better education, a little capital at the start when the mass have none. And the old and other dependents are not to be robbed of the little inherited store that stands between them and destitution. Nothing could be more proper than the feeling here. But surely it would be far better to stand by a principle to the end—and demand the finest kind of education for all (there would be the confiscated wealth of the dead to pay for it) and the right to be protected by society with tender respect in one's disability or old age. How much more conducive to a fine personal morality this would be than the painful and often subservient reliance on little "expectations" to save from an utterly bare old age.

But whatever the criticism, it would be unjust not to welcome in Mr. Read an outspoken and effective force in the fight to make democracy ethical. The very limitations of his crusade may enable it to penetrate where others would fail—and they will follow after.

G. E. O'D.

EDUCATION FOR LIFE, THE STORY OF HAMPTON INSTITUTE. By Francis Greenwood Peabody. Doubleday, Page and Company. Pp. 393.

The story of this pioneer school for negroes is here ably told by the vice-president of the board of trustees. Beginning with two chapters on the negro in the Civil War and in Reconstruction days, it is mainly an account of the work of the founder and first principal, Samuel C. Armstrong.

The book repays reading if only for the picture of this sterling personality. Son of a missionary in Hawaii, he enlisted when Lincoln called, and commanded a black regiment. The war over, he offered his services for works of peace. How he undertook the task

of founding a negro college, how he planned an institution which should train selected youths for leadership, teach respect for labor and build up character through useful work, is here recounted with winning appreciation. The last four chapters deal with Hampton since the death of the founder.

Teachers will find the book particularly stimulating. General Armstrong had been a pupil of Mark Hopkins and said of him: "Whatever good teaching I may have done has been Mark Hopkins teaching through me."

H. N.

BEYOND ARCHITECTURE: By A. Kingsley Porter. Marshall Jones Co. Pp. 200.

A brief reference to this volume may be made for the sake especially of those who care to have their appreciation of Gothic confirmed and deepened. It is a veritable paean in behalf of the art and thought of the Middle Ages,—muffled (for us) only by something too much of the antiquarian ecclesiasticism of Mr. Cram,—to whom warm tribute is paid. But, apart from some fog-spots of religious obscurantism, it has the larger human insight, is very well written, and is informing and stimulating to the layman in numerous ways. There are interesting pages about folk-art, the guilds, the lore of the Middle Ages, its ideal of poverty and the artistic presentment of it,—and much more. Besides, it is one more evidence of the steady emergence of the Middle Ages out of the eclipse cast by the Renaissance, and the belated salvage of much that is precious in its life, art and thought. Its value and its fascination grow upon one. And it is interesting to note in this connec-

tion how Ruskin is coming into his own. Mr. Porter pays him this tribute: "Notwithstanding obvious deficiencies, I suppose him to have been the greatest architectural critic who has lived. If the reader takes exception to this statement, let him try to name another book which has exerted as great, and on the whole as beneficent, an influence as the *Seven Lamps*."

P. C.

THOUGHTS FROM THE WRITINGS AND ADDRESSES OF WALTER L. SHELDON. Selected by C. B. published by the Ethical Society of St. Louis. Pp.

Not only the friends whom Mr. Sheldon won by his labors in St. Louis but many who never enjoyed that privilege will welcome this compilation of his thoughts. They are selected in the main from Sunday morning addresses before the Ethical Society of which he was for many years the honored and beloved leader. They deal almost exclusively with matters of the personal life, like self-improvement, happiness, love, friendship, marriage, and religious inspiration.

Brief selections of this kind can of course hardly be expected to do justice to the author. There is, however, enough here to suggest something of the devoutness, the optimism and vigor by which Mr. Sheldon was characterized. For this convenient opportunity to renew or to make acquaintance with him, the compiler is to be thanked.

H. N.

THE ETHICAL CULTURE MOVEMENT

Conference of Ethical Leaders

The annual conference of the Fraternity of Ethical Leaders was held this year in conjunction with a meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Ethical Union in the Pocono Mountains at Buck Hill Falls, Pennsylvania, during the last week of June. Thirty-five persons, including all of the leaders except Mr. George E. O'Dell, were in attendance. The discussion chiefly dealt with the means for making progress towards the spiritual life. Among the specific topics discussed were the use of silence; penitence, confession and forgiveness; anger and superstition, and how to deal with injustice. One session was devoted to a discussion of the peace treaty. Several of the papers read at the conference will be published in THE STANDARD.

A number of important questions were taken up at the business sessions. Plans were made for a delegate meeting of the American Ethical Union, to be held in De-

troit at the Thanksgiving week-end this year. It is anticipated that Mr. Harry Snell, Secretary both of the English and of the International Union of Ethical Societies, and also prominent in the British Labor movement, may be able to be present. Dr. Adler, as Chairman of the International Union, announced that tentative plans are under consideration for a conference of the Union, to be held in Europe as soon as conditions warrant.

Mr. Daniel Roy Freeman who presented an interesting report of the progress of the new society in Detroit, was elected to full membership in the fraternity, and the society was admitted to the American Ethical Union. Mr. Alfred W. Martin reported concerning the series of Sunday evening lectures which he has given in Boston during the past two winters, and stated that an augmented lecture course, with several of the Ethical leaders on the program, is planned for next winter. Mr. David S. Hanchett of New

York was designated Acting Secretary of the American Ethical Union, to serve in the place of Mr. O'Dell, whose time is now fully occupied with duties in connection with the Society which he is organizing in Grand Rapids, Michigan. Consideration was given to plans for changes and improvements in THE STANDARD, and a summary of a paper read on this subject is published as an editorial in this issue. Dr. John L. Elliott was appointed chairman of a committee which is to prepare the program for next year's conference.

New Quarters for New York Groups

During the summer, the large unfinished room on the fifth floor of the New York Society building was partitioned off into a number of rooms suitable for the use of some of the groups within the Society. The Industrial Group will have commodious quarters, which will contain a library and reading room and will be suitable for conferences and committee meetings. One of the new offices will be occupied by THE STANDARD.

Lectures on Americanization

The course of lectures on Americanization to be given by the Study and Service Group and Women's Conference of the New York Society is now completely arranged. The first lecture, an introductory one by Mr. Allan T. Burns, of the Carnegie Foundation, on "What is Americanization?" will be given at the Meeting House, Friday, November 7th, at 11 a. m. Eleven weekly talks on Friday mornings at 11, will follow, the speaker in each case being a representative of one of the foreign born groups, who has himself become an American citizen and will tell of the possibilities and needs of his group. Representatives of the following nationalities will speak: Russians, Central European Jews, Poles, Hungarians, Armenians, Ukrainians, Greeks, Czecho-Slovaks, Italians, Jugo-Slavs and Lithuanians. Dr. Adler will give the concluding lecture, taking as his topic: "Along What Lines Shall We Direct Our Efforts at Americanization?"

Brooklyn Notes

The Sunday School of the Brooklyn So-

ciety is to have two new classes this fall in addition to the four which have met regularly in the past. One of the new classes will be a group of boys ranging in age from twelve to fourteen, and organized in the Woodcraft League. The American biography to be studied in the Sunday School this year will be the life of Samuel Gridley Howe, the crusader for Greek independence and a leader in the educational movement for the blind. The Men's Club will add to its program forum meetings open both to men and women. The Red Cross Chapter and Sewing Group for civilian relief work will continue to do useful work, even though the war is over. The Women's Union will devote itself particularly to helping a free open air kindergarten.

The opening meeting of the Society is to be held in the Academy of Music on Sunday, October 5th, when Dr. Neumann will speak on "The Challenge of To-Day to Religious Radicals." On the following Sunday, Dr. Muzzey will take as his subject: "Are We Faithful to American Ideals?"

The Bronx Group

The fall lecture season of the Bronx Group of the New York Society will begin about the middle of October. Encouraged by an exceptionally large attendance at the meetings in the Woodstock Library last spring, the members of the Group look forward to a good year. Among the lecturers will be Mr. O'Dell, the former leader of the Group, who will visit New York in the course of the winter. The Women's Committee has become a member of the Abbey Day Nursery and is assisting in its work.

Mr. O'Dell Begins Work in Grand Rapids

The Grand Rapids Ethical Society held its first meeting under Mr. O'Dell's leadership at All Souls Church on Sunday, September 14th. The Society is planning a great increase of activities during the coming months, including classes for the study of Ethical literature and various forms of community service.

D. S. H.

FORTY-THIRD ANNIVERSARY ADDRESS*

BY FELIX ADLER

A FRIENDLY critic recently delivered an address on the volume published by me a year ago under the title of *An Ethical Philosophy of Life*. At the end of his discourse he put three questions: Was it necessary to depart from Judaism to establish an Ethical Culture Society? What, if any, is the new contribution of this ethical philosophy to ethical science? And what is likely to be the outcome of the Ethical Movement? I shall not here discuss the first two questions—addressed to me as an individual rather than to our membership generally; but the challenge implied in the third may well lead us all to search our hearts and to consider anew on this Anniversary Day what we desire to be the outcome of our efforts, what we conceive to be the purpose and nature of our Ethical Movement.

And here I may say in the first place that it was from the outset and is now intended to be a religious movement. It is indeed designed to lift religion upon a higher plane, to give it a purity, a range, a sublimity heretofore unattained. Religion has hitherto moved on crutches. It shall stand on its feet,—nay, it shall have wings, and test them. When I say that religion has moved on crutches, I mean that instead of being self-reliant it has depended for its authority on something alien to itself.

Perhaps by contrasting religion with superstition I can best make my meaning clear. We desire a religion free from the last vestige of superstition. I do not intend to imply that Judaism and Christianity are superstitions. I do say quite frankly that there are still deep traces of superstition in both re-

ligions, and that the religion of the Ethical Movement would purge itself of these traces.

Now the correct definition of superstition is to be gathered from examples. And certain obvious examples will at once occur to everyone. The belief in dreams, omens, in the “sinister” significance of the left side, are instances. These may be called minor superstitions, though they show the same characteristic marks as the major ones.* Examples of the major superstitions are the belief in and worship of idols; the belief in the supernatural attributes of certain stones, like the black stone at Mecca, to which Moslems make their pilgrimage from the ends of the earth; the belief in the efficacy of the Cross to rout evil spirits; the belief in the special holiness of the so-called Mercy-seat at Jerusalem,—the belief, in fine, in sacred places, sacred objects, sacred events in nature. The trick of superstition consists in transferring something psychic, something that occurs in the soul of man, to things outside of man. It sees the cause of things that happen in the soul of man in things which have no intrinsic relation with our mental and moral life. The hooting of the owl heard at night in the old tower is taken as ominous of the imminent death of the sick lord of the castle. The eerie sound awakens fearful premonitions. The bird itself obeys instincts, which have nothing whatever in common with the impression made upon the listener. We objectify our psychic experiences, and

* It is a curious, well-known fact that the minor superstitions are especially prevalent among free thinkers,—the swarm of petty demons appearing after the great gods have departed.

*Delivered before the New York Society for Ethical Culture, Sunday, May 11, 1919.

then make the mistake of referring what happens within us to the false causes which we have projected outward.

The belief in miracles rests on the same foundation. The impression made by Jesus on the minds of his disciples was due to his moral and spiritual excellence, to which the change of water into wine could add no title of validity. The miracle might produce superstitious awe, but could not produce reverence and love.

In like manner the Biblical account of the revelation of the Ten Commandments on Mount Sinai exemplifies the superstitious tendency to rest the authority of moral ideals on physical occurrences. Thunder and lightning are purely physical phenomena. The orthodox tradition that the words of the Decalogue were articulated thunder, though poetical, mythical, is in essence superstitious. It is supposed that that which is moral needs to be fortified by that which is physical, that which happens internally needs to be validated by giving it a physical basis.

The Ethical Movement is intended to be a religious movement. The kind of religion aspired to is to mark an advance upon previous religions in so far as the connection between the ethical and the physical is to be absolutely cut. Religion has to do with the ideal of ethical perfection which rises from the depths of the human soul, and which depends for its authority on its mere excellence when contemplated, and on the constraining influence which it exercises on the will.

In the next place the Ethical Movement is characterized by its far-going belief in the possibility of ethical progress. And by progress I here understand attainment of new ethical conceptions, of new ethical insights, of new ideals of righteousness, beyond those that were known even to the greatest teachers of the race that have appeared thus far. Moral progress in the sense of the more adequate practice of the gen-

erally acknowledged moral precepts is not what I am here speaking of. Insistence on that would not be the mark of a new Ethical Movement. Every one except the hardened cynic agrees to the necessity of moral progress of that sort. But that the standards themselves of the past are too short, that the ideals of moral perfection announced by the most illuminated spirits of antiquity are not high enough, not great enough, not comprehensive enough—this precisely is the point at which our Ethical Societies differ from the Jewish and Christian religious bodies. What to them is the *terminus ad quem* is to us the *terminus a quo*. For them the ethical precepts of Isaiah and of Jesus are the last word in ethics, and all that now remains is to apply what we have been taught. For us the words of Isaiah and of Jesus are great milestones in the ethical history of mankind, beyond which we are now to press onward.

But the world, it is said, has not yet even come abreast of the teachings of Isaiah or of Jesus. Why then strive to reach yet higher standards? Time enough to attack the more advanced problems when the simple lessons have been sufficiently conned. My answer is that to teach the elements of a subject correctly demands a penetrating knowledge of its complexities; and that one reason why the world has not yet got beyond the stage of elementary moral practice is because the world's teachers have not yet got beyond elementary moral ideas.

With respect to religion, our distinctive position is defined by the circumstance that we discard the crutches. With respect to ethics our position is defined by the circumstance that we actively conceive of progress in the ideals of righteousness beyond the best entertained hitherto. The question has often been put to me: How can the word "ethical," as used by you, serve as a distinctive mark to set off your efforts from those of others? Is not

the church an Ethical Society? Does it not aim to give moral instruction, moral help, to produce a virtuous life? Let me briefly reply. There is a profound difference between the Christian view and what I call the ethical view,—First, as to the means by which virtue is to be attained; secondly, as to what constitutes virtue. As to the means, the orthodox Christian church declares that faith in Christ is indispensable. Faith is the root, virtue the fruit. Without the root there can be no fruit. The liberal churches have reduced the factor of faith in Christ almost to zero, but have replaced it by imitation of Christ, regarding him as the sufficient exemplar of all virtue. The church, then, both orthodox and liberal, is indeed an ethical society so far as it proposes to make men virtuous—with the ulterior view, however, of preparing them for felicity in the hereafter. But for the production of virtue the Christian churches use two engines,—the one faith, the other imitation. Faith in Christ, in any technically theological sense, is for us out of the question. Imitation of Christ is valuable, but insufficient. The utility of copying examples as a means of moral training has been greatly over-emphasized. Moreover, the example of Christ's life does not cover a number of virtues which are most desirable at the present stage of the world's development,—for instance, the civic virtues.

Then as to what constitutes the virtue, the difference, as I have pointed out, is that while the Christian teacher permits development within the circle of Christ's ideas, the ethical view demands development beyond that circle.

The last characteristic feature in the complexion of the Ethical Movement is one that after all counts chiefest. The Ethical Movement addresses itself to persons who set the ethical interest above every other interest in life, the ethical end above every other end which a human being can possibly set himself. It addresses itself thus to per-

sons who are in the strict sense, ethically-minded. Some persons are scientifically-minded; some persons are artistically-minded; some persons are ethically-minded. To be ethically-minded means to believe and act on the belief that right personal relations are the most important thing in the world, that the distress caused by wrong, twisted relations to other persons, whether in marriage or as between fathers and sons, or as between the social classes, or as between nation and nation—that such distress is more intolerable than any other, far more poignant in the anguish it gives rise to than want or sickness, or any other kind of suffering. To be ethically-minded means to think and act on the thought that the great problem which is set the human race for solution, and set to every individual member of the human race is: how to create a state of things in which a man can live his life in such a fashion as to quicken the life in others.

I am not now speaking of the happiness which such relations between human beings would bring about. Though I am far from sharing the Stoic disdain for happiness, yet I do not value right relations because of the joy which they sometimes, by no means always, bring in their train. I value the spiritual activity of creating right relations as the highest and most desirable exercise of activity of which a human being is capable. The ethically-minded person is one who exercises the creative faculty in this, its supreme aspect.

But is a new Ethical Movement needed in order to cultivate ethical-mindedness of this sort? Yes; it is absolutely needed, for the contrary view of ethics is the prevalent one, namely, that morality is a means subordinate to some quite non-ethical thing as the real end,—such as social prosperity, such as the secure enjoyment of life and property, such as the pleasures of sympathy and benevolence. Or by some the pursuit of science is ranked as the object most worthy of human endeavor, or the

creation of beautiful works of art. Without doing injustice to any of these ends of human pursuit, and considering only the claim of supremacy, the Ethical Movement, as I understand it, is one that insists on ethical-mindedness, that is, on thinking and believing and acting, as if the supreme end were the ethical end, as if the supreme pain in life were the pain of wrong personal relations, as if the *summum bonum* of human existence were to be found in the act of creating harmonious relations,—not in the results, which are ever below the mark, but in the activity itself.

I suppose that I may here, without trenching on the proprieties of the occasion, add this further remark. The Ethical Society was founded by those who more or less agreed in the general outlook here sketched. The Ethical Society invites all who choose to do so to come and hear, and if they think fit to join as members. It does not require them to sign any written statement embodying the above views. But the views as defined are characteristic of the Ethical Movement, and those religious persons who find that they still need crutches, even if they join, will not remain with us; and those who see

no possible advance in ethics beyond the Golden Rule will not stay, and those who are not ethically-minded, and not capable of being converted to ethical-mindedness, those who think of some other non-moral object like science or art, not to speak of happiness in its more vulgar acceptations, as the supremely desirable thing, they too will either not be attracted at all, or if they are, under a misapprehension, will after a little take their leave.

Soon after the first Ethical Society was founded, a very eminent person said that an association of this kind could not cohere without either a dogmatic creed or a dogmatic philosophy. The coherence of the Ethical Society depends neither on a creed nor on a philosophical formula. It is assured by the unifying purpose which animates the stable nucleus of the Society,—the purpose of which they are conscious, and of which I have striven to make them more and more conscious, namely, that there is one supreme thing needful, to extricate oneself from the torture of twisted relations, and to exercise such activity as is directed towards the creation of right relations.

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AN OLD BASIS FOR NEW FAITH

IN THE supreme task of social and political reconstruction, far more will be required than the invention of new political machinery, yet so far little else seems to have been suggested. State and national commissions have been profuse in proposing outlines of reform in housing, employment and even schemes for the participation of the workers in the management of industry; but so far, there has been little to inspire confidence and hope that these reforms can or will bring much help to a troubled world.

New political and economic organizations must indeed be invented and put into action. But the spirit of discord that exists between nation and nation, and between class and class bodes ill for the operation of any large or important plan. The spirit of discord has swept through the world, has left behind it bitter animosities. All the plans that have been suggested or that will be proposed, rest on the possibility of co-operation between the different elements in industry, in the nation and in international life. Yet it is just this willingness to co-operate that is wanting, and nowhere is it more manifestly absent than in America.

In this country, large co-operative movements have been conspicuously wanting,—while it has been always possible to form large and effective groups for the purpose of exploitation. If co-operation in its larger sense is the keynote to reconstruction, then the outlook in this country as well as in all others, is indeed desperate, but we have the

right to believe that men will exhibit in the future not only those tendencies which have been manifest during the last few years, but that there may also be a revival of some of the nobler traits that have worked through the ages.

It is incumbent upon us to-day to call attention to the need, not only of a careful study of immediate problems, but also of a revival and quickening of what has been. If the human race were to be judged alone by the action of the last five years, or even by the headlines of the newspapers to-day, many a clear-seeing man might find grounds for hopelessness, but there is besides, the faith which we all have that somehow the means to meet the immediate situation will be found. There are the deeper things and the great ideas that have always existed in human thought to which appeal can be made—ideas which to-day stand discredited but which nevertheless have in them a mighty power for good.

There is no word for which the social reformer, the socialist, has a greater contempt than "charity," but if one takes the idea of charity in the best and truest ways in which it has found expression, I believe that there is more hope in it than in most of the modern, up-to-date machinery for social betterment. It is true that charitable organizations and many charitable people have given more than ample ground to the socialist and the social reformer for his contention, but what is the idea at bottom? What has it meant?

There was a time when the expres-

sion "Christian charity" had really a great meaning. The gift which one Christian gave to another was not only the alms that was to purchase food and clothing, but was a symbol of a common brotherhood. In Christian thought the struggle in this world was bound to bring much of failure and perhaps absolute failure. A soul was no less a prisoner even if the body had all its needs, and the gift of charity was a sign from one who had to one who had not, that they were fellow prisoners. It was a symbol of brotherhood as well as a means of relief.

For the Hebrew, on the Day of Atonement, a man's gift to charity might intercede for him with the Ruler of the universe—a man's charity counted with the power that made for righteousness.

With the Buddhist, the stories told and the examples set before the devout believer in the matter of giving one's property and even oneself, went to the extreme of sacrifice.

All the religions have taught and properly taught that without charity there was no true religion and no support of human life. Without this element, let the forms be what they will, there cannot be any better human life now. Families could not exist without the fireside charity,—nor states, races or nations without it. War and social struggle may bring change; without the act of well-wishing helpfulness that we may well call charity, these changes cannot bring permanent good.

The only enduring good that can come out of social development is better men and women, and the supreme characteristic of better men and women is the capacity to work together better than ever before. Any undertaking which breeds mutual hate and distrust cannot accomplish the end of making better co-operators. More social skill and knowledge we want, but no amount of knowledge and skill will help unless it is directed towards a general good.

America has become the center of the world's wealth and all the power and influence that wealth can give is chiefly ours. Whether it will be used for international exploitation or whether it will be the power that will help to create international fraternity will depend on whether or not there is a new birth of the spirit of fraternity, or a new birth of the spirit of greed.

These powers are old in the world and each has dominated in its turn. Perhaps we should spend more time in considering the principles of moral reconstruction before we can hope to have economic reconstruction, and for moral reconstruction we can turn to the great thoughts of the human race for direction and instruction, and meanwhile attempt to avoid some of the mistakes of the past. It is not in trying to build up the world on absolutely new foundations that we can succeed. It may perhaps be rebuilt, not anew, but out of the good of the past, and chiefly by quickening the spirit of genuine fraternity until it becomes among us the dominant element in our social and political relations.

J. L. E.

SHANTUNG

NONE of the United States Senators, if newspaper comment may be believed, approves of the transfer of German "rights" in Shantung to Japan. Yet fifty-five members voted on October 16 against amending the clause of the peace treaty which sanctions that procedure. Expediency is the plea: it is better to have Japan in the league, as a friend. It is dangerous to reopen a question already settled by a pre-treaty pact. The need for speedy ratification outweighs finicky scruples. After all, Japan's word may be trusted, to return the "sovereignty" of the province very soon to China.

Is it well to do evil, that good may come? The evil is acknowledged: the

good is contingent. We make an enemy of China. We get in return perhaps the friendship, perhaps the veiled contempt of Japan. Our profession is to make the world safe for democracy: we give a helping hand to imperialistic ambitions. The courage to do the right as we see it, has apparently departed from the senatorial mind, yet Abraham Lincoln's counsel is still wise. An administration which the present incumbents of power have ever been pleased to stigmatize as imperialistic, treated China with conspicuous generosity, insisting on the open door, and protecting her territorial integrity against the envious designs of partitioning powers. All this out of an unpledged good will. An administration solemnly committed to China's befriending abandons its pledge and turns a deaf ear to her plea for justice. We have come far since the days of John Hay. And a certain influential portion of our press hurries us into this blind alley of base expediency by the irrelevant plea that the restoration of peace and prosperity at home depends on our quick consentment to terms at variance with every high ideal that our spokesmen have set up. The great heart of the striking longshoreman and steel workers is breaking, forsooth, because the treaty is not signed!

D. S. M.

ARMISTICE DAY

WITH what mingled feelings do we greet the first anniversary of the signing of the Armistice! The eleventh month, the eleventh day and the eleventh hour will at least in our generation never be forgotten, and even before the day has found its way into the calendar of international holidays, it will retain in the popular mind a significance scarcely possessed by some other gala days.

How different is the situation to-day from what it was a year ago! Then we were indulging in a delirium of joy

over victory, over relief from the terrific strain of war; now we are tempted to indulge in a pessimism quite as dark as our hopes were once bright. Then we possessed a unity of thought and purpose the like of which has seldom obtained in our history; now we are divided into different camps whose hostility one to the other is more violent and outspoken than at almost any previous time.

Some are ardent advocates of the League of Nations, without which they believe the war will have been fought in vain; others are quite as certain that the present League is subversive of all of the ideals which upheld America in the struggle.

Some believe that we are in the midst of a new and promising industrial revolution, that labor, which through all the years of war was assured that it was the backbone of the nation, should now retain and enlarge its position of influence, that its organizations should be freely recognized, and that their members should be given a real voice in directing the affairs of the industries upon which they are engaged. Meanwhile others are clamoring for a return to the old ways of the open shop, many of them maintaining that they are upholding old and precious traditions of American Liberty. They point to the disposition of organized labor unscrupulously to heap demand upon demand until its profiteering becomes quite as irksome to the general public as that of the capitalists. In the course of this struggle we observe such anomalies as the use in Gary by Federal troops (in what is regarded by the workmen as an effort to defeat them in their struggle for liberty) of the very steel helmets which the Gary workers had made for use in the war for the freedom of the world. And among the workers who participated in the strike demonstrations in the steel town were many wearing the uniform of the United States who found themselves arrayed against those who had been

their own comrades in the recent struggle.

But despite these disputes and all of the violence which is our heritage from the war, there are elements in the situation which are not so dark, and on that other holiday which comes this month we shall still have much for which to be thankful. In the first place, our troops are home again and there is joy and the spirit of thanksgiving in millions of homes. Then too, there is a new spirit of life and activity in the nation. The things which depress us are certain phenomena of the period—violence, starvation, unrest—but they do not go to the heart of the matter. In spirit we are not depressed but exhilarated and the very unrest of the times may well issue in consequences which will be most beneficent. Of evidences of new and better things there are a plenty. Young people, particularly, are awake to the possibilities of these days, and educational institutions are crowded to the limit with those who are seeking to fit themselves for the new era. The community spirit has been kindled throughout the land, and we shall hope never to return to the old ways of regarding such matters as health and recreation as primarily problems to be faced by the individual alone.

Then too, if we were to look into the post-war experiences of other days, we should find much that is encouraging. It was after Athens had won her victory over the oppressive Persian, and when she abandoned her former policy of isolation and entered into freer intercourse with other nations, it was when she was full of the new life and vigor of these experiences that she entered upon the Golden Age, and rose to those heights of achievement in art, literature and learning which have been a never failing source of wonder to subsequent ages.

The world to-day is again plastic, and into what mould it will run no one can say. Each one of us, in co-operation with those with whom he is associated, has a part to play in shaping the new

model of society, and if we contrive somehow to put forth our own best efforts in an honest struggle to bring about a better order of things, preserving meanwhile a sincere respect for the differing views of others, who like ourselves are also the necessary agents of the process of change, we may have an influence in the march of events which is greater than the details of every-day life will ever appear to indicate. The consciousness of mission, which to-day more than ever before is alive in the minds of individuals and of groups of earnest people, is one of the greatest sources of encouragement in these times of infinite possibility.

This it is that we should remind ourselves of on Armistice Day. We have lived one year in the era of reconstruction. What have we done, what more can we do, freeing ourselves from the bias of our apparently personal interests, to make the new order of society the best that our enlightened vision can discern? Whatever the outcome, whatever the solutions of the knotty problems that concern us to-day, the spiritual forces of the world will be strengthened immeasurably if each of us will devote himself relentlessly to efforts directed towards the realization of the most enlightened ideals which he cherishes for the new order.

D. S. H.

LYNCHING'S PERFECT WORK

THE South may lead in the number of lynchings, but the palm for quality is borne by the North. It is to Omaha that we owe this proud distinction. When citizens of the Nebraska metropolis turned upon their Mayor because he was attempting to argue them out of their purpose to murder a negro prisoner, and tried to lynch *him*, they were in the act of carrying lynching to its logical conclusion. First, you elect a Mayor to enforce the law. Then,

when he endeavors to abide by his oath to enforce it, you string him up to a handy lamp-post. This should teach insolent officials their place. In comparison with this exhibition, what has the South ever done to prove its devotion to mob law? The burning of a hundred private citizens is neither so sensational nor so significant as the mere effort, even if unsuccessful, to hang a single Mayor. Logical Omaha, unlike the emotional South, does not cavil at color in her lynchings or draw the line at Mayors. Her attack upon her Mayor was confessedly not because, like the negro she was after, he had violated the law, but because he was daring to assert the supremacy of the law over even a mob. Omaha, with her evident taste for clear-cut distinctions,

saw in her Mayor the Law—and she attempted to execute it, in the wrong sense.

We may learn from Omaha, then, that the true spirit of lynching is hostile to restraint; especially to restraint formally embodied in laws, governments, and Mayors. Lynching is its own law; it finds any other irksome. There has been a marked revival of the lynching spirit lately, and it is well, therefore, that Omaha has been good enough to reveal the exact nature of that spirit just at this time. The largest city in the land has not been without happenings that might have developed into lynchings. If we are going to continue to indulge in these "gestures," as the French might term them, by all means let us know them for what they are.

R. J. D.

THE ETHICS OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

A British View

BY J. A. HOBSON

WAGE-EARNERS in Britain who have brought thought to bear upon the conditions of their employment have long been convinced that organization of the workers and collective contracts for the sale of labor were essential securities for a living wage and other elements of economic welfare. It was no social theory which brought this demand for collective bargaining to the forefront of labor policy, but the plain teaching of experience which led the individual worker to perceive the disadvantages of a forced sale of his productive energy to a wealthy buyer who was under less pressure to buy than he to sell, and who usually could drive down the price by reason of an over-supply in the labor market.

Under the pressure of this teaching, labor in many of our leading industries, mines, railways, docks,

engineering shops, textile factories, printing works, etc., became so well-organized that bargaining between the unions and the organizations of the employers became the normal and accepted method of labor-contract. In many of these industries, there would remain a minority of unorganized workers forming non-union shops, or surviving as a negligible factor in strongly unionized businesses. Similarly on the side of the employers, there were firms which persistently stood out of the Association, insisting on the right and practice of special wage and other arrangements with their employees. This right of "free labor," or as it is called in America, the "open shop," was maintained even in the well-organized industries by an ever-dwindling minority of businesses. In less-organized trades, particularly where

women and low-skilled men were largely employed, it had a stronger basis of survival.

And yet it would, I think, be a just generalization to assert that by the year 1914 (the great dividing line in modern history) the idea of individual labor-contracts as an equitable and socially-defensible method of getting labor for industry had become obsolete. In the case of skilled and well-organized trades it had been voluntarily displaced by collective bargaining of groups of employers and employed devising regular and elaborate agreements and joint boards for adjustment of differences. In the case of more backward trades the notorious failure of individual contract to secure a living wage and other decent conditions of employment had already led to State interference under our Trade Boards Act, which in a number of "sweated industries" empowered joint boards, representing capital and labor with governmental assessors, to fix minimum wages. Unrest in the great staple industry of coal mining had already before the war led to the establishment under governmental auspices of district committees, representing operators and operatives in the mines, for regulation of wage and other conditions, while an integral part of the agricultural reform policy to which Mr. George had committed the Government, included the fixing of statutory minimum wages.

Thus in all parts of our industrial system the belief in and the practice of individual wage-contracts were rapidly disappearing. The criticisms of economists and employers of the old individualist school were met by pointing out that the system of individual bargaining would no longer work. Humanitarian feeling and sound civic sense condemned it as oppressive, degrading, and socially dangerous in the weaker trades, while in the stronger the enforcement by

organization of a common rule for wages, hours and other conditions appeared indispensable if industrial peace and reliability of service were to be secured. In great modern industry the talk about the natural right of the individual firm to make its separate bargain with the individual worker was generally regarded as futile, having regard to the fact that one man's labor could only function in close, constant co-operation with the labor of hundreds and thousands of other workers. This large, co-operative basis of production demands a common rule for pay, hours and other conditions which is utterly unattainable by treating individual workers as separate free bargainers. This elemental truth of the modern economic system, apparent before the war, has been greatly enforced by the experience of war-industry in Britain.

It may justly be said that in Britain a whole generation of industrial evolution has been packed into these five crowded years of war emergency. Neither capital nor labor emerges from the war as it entered. In both a new level of organization and combination has been reached. Before the war, trusts were still regarded as distinctively American, cartels as German bodies. It was, of course, known that fairly effective combines were operating in Britain as elsewhere, but they were regarded as exceptional and in most instances our free import policy was considered a sufficient security against monopolistic oppression. But during the war the processes of association and combination have been immensely accelerated in most of our essential industries. Not only were such services as railroads, coal mines, and shipping, engineering in its main branches, taken under state control, but the public regulation of the metal, textile, chemical, leather and other essential manufactures was such as to compel businesses which formerly had worked in independent competi-

tion to form close associations for materials, costing and prices. After the war was over this enforced association could not disappear. Railroads and mines could not return to the era of free competition. The hold which government still retained over many supplies of raw materials and over prices obliged the manufacturers to look closely to their associations. Even when these war-shortages shall have passed away, there is no probability of a return to pre-war competition. Cartels or other associations for buying and selling, trade arrangements for the regulation of output, distribution of markets, and the fixing of profitable prices are in existence or in proposition everywhere among our great manufacturing industries.

A similar stimulus has been given to the organization of labor. The numbers and strength of the great Trade Unions have grown. Some five millions of our wage-earners are now unionized, mostly in the essential industries. Not only in the advanced trades, such as cotton, ship-building, leather, printing, but in many of the relatively backward trades, such as agriculture and the clothing trades, individual bargaining has now become impossible. It has been displaced by the common rule, imposed by agreement of the representatives of employers and employed throughout the trade, and enforced in some instances by legal regulation.

Although these methods of regulating wages and other conditions of employment by collective bargaining are far from perfection, they are recognized as a distinct advance upon the old method of individual wage-contract. Doubtless neither complete economic justice nor secure industrial peace is attainable by collective bargaining. For upon this plane there is reached no final determination of a "fair wage" or a "reasonable price." The relative eco-

nomic force of the two parties still remains the chief determinant. But in Britain there is no disposition to go back to the individual bargain or the open shop. The minds of all our intelligent employers and labor leaders are directed towards improving and perfecting the methods of collective bargaining, so as to bring into play adequate incentives towards that more secure and more productive functioning of industry which is essential to industrial peace and progress in the new order of society.

The recommendations of the Whitley Committee in favor of establishing Industrial Councils and Workshop Committees, equally representative of capital and labor, for the regular discussion and settlement of all matters affecting the conditions of employment and the general welfare of the trade, have been generally accepted by all classes, except the extremists on the "right" of the employers and the "left" of the workers. The idea is to introduce, alike into the national trade, the several industries and their constituent establishments, a genuine form of representative government, in which capital and labor should have an equal share. This is the first full recognition that labor is no longer to be treated as a mere commodity, but that it is entitled to a large participation in the control of the conditions under which it functions for the service of society.

To Socialists and to a section of our new Guild Socialists, these joint committees, adopted by many of our trades and accepted by several branches of our public services, appear to be unsatisfactory compromises, designed to buy off more revolutionary changes. And it is not difficult to show that, if the capital and labor engaged in certain fundamental industries were brought into close combination and were left in full control of selling prices, they

might establish a most dangerous oppression over the consuming public. For it is not yet sufficiently realized that the market, or consuming public, is an integral part of every industry, and needs adequate representation in the control of that industry, so far as output, quality of services and prices are concerned.

There are also other defects in the joint committee, regarded as a final method of industrial peace. But the real significance of the experiment consists in the fact that it rests upon the definite repudiation of the free individual labor contract. It formally presumes at each stage in its operation the existence of associations of employers on the one side, workers on the other, and regards the decisions made by agreement of their representatives as the accepted rules for the working of the whole establishment or trade. The adoption of such representative councils would be a practical, though not a legal, compulsion, both on employers and workers to take up membership of their Association or Trade Union, in order to take part in forming and administering the common rules of the trade.

This is the new level of conscious combination and representation which has been reached in Britain, and which is generally accepted as the minimum concession to the demand of labor for an effective voice in determining the conditions of its employment. The old insistence of the capitalist-employer, that he would brook no interference with his absolute right to run his business as he thought fit, and buy his labor by separate agreement in a free labor market at any price for which he could obtain it, has virtually disappeared. It is recognized as impracticable and out of accord with the new conception of industries as social

services. For this lesson of the social meaning of an industry, our war-experience has surely taught. During the war it was thought and felt by the nation that the business of employer and worker in the mines and shipyards was to turn out coal and ships, not to make dividends or wages, and that the farmer's business was to use his land so as to produce the largest quantity of food. Underneath all the greedy profiteering, this general sense that an industry was a social-service and that the life of the nation depended on its efficient operation obtained powerful recognition. Some of this genuinely humanist conception of industry has survived. The conception of trade as a competitive struggle between rival businesses, and of a business as a private profiteering instrument, which bought its labor as it bought its raw materials or its fuel, is no longer possible. Businesses are not going to continue the waste of a cutthroat competition. They are going to combine. Labor is no longer going to sell itself in hourly or weekly units of the individual worker, but in long-period collective flows under regulations of price and hours and hygiene which shall check the inhuman encroachments of the machine, and win for the people in their capacity of producers, consumers and citizens the fruits of human industry. The fact that war-conditions have left a heavy legacy of suspicion and class-hate and have by a natural suggestion turned the belief in force as a remedy from the international into the intestinal struggle, must not blind us to the importance of the new experiments in the co-operation of industrial factors or lead us to a premature dismissal of these experiments in industrial democracy.

INDUSTRY AND HUMANITY

BY ALFRED W. MARTIN

WITHIN the past five years a deep pessimism seems to have settled upon many minds. To them our civilization is but a thin veneer, barely hiding the untamed brute in man. "Amid the encircling gloom" of international anarchy they search in vain for a kindly, guiding light. In the world of industrial relations they discern no signs but those of revolution and chaos. Is this pessimism warranted, or can we point to facts and tendencies in both the international and industrial realms that discredit it? Confining our attention for the nonce to the industrial world and frankly admitting that the diagnosis of existing conditions is decidedly disheartening, may we not entertain hope of industrial reconstruction on other principles than those which have hitherto obtained?

Surely, such an occurrence as the passing from current literature and conversation of the phrase "soulless corporations" gives ground for that hope and is in no small measure indicative of a trend toward permanent peace and concord between capital and labor. Twenty years ago that phrase served as a popular designation for big industrial and commercial combinations so impersonal that no one of their constituent individuals showed any sense of responsibility for treatment of their employees as human beings, as ends in themselves and not merely as means to their employers' ends. To-day the phrase has all but disappeared from our vocabulary and the reason is the awakening of many combines to some realization of the ethics of capitalism in its relation to labor, an awakening superinduced by legislation and still more by education and the rousing of public conscience to industrial wrongs.

As Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.,

has said, "men are rapidly coming to see that the health, happiness, and well-being of the individual, however humble, is not to be sacrificed to the selfish aggrandizement of the more fortunate or more powerful."* The fact is that the brazen, haughty imperialistic attitude that characterized capitalism twenty years ago has in large measure, decreased. And this must be set down as a distinct moral gain. Too much, however, dare not be made of this welcome change in the attitude of Capital; for, over against it stands the ugly fact of Labor taking on the selfsame objectionable features and becoming increasingly self-assertive and domineering while capital reveals much of the timidity and submissiveness formerly conspicuous among labor leaders.

But of much greater significance than the disappearance of the phrase "soulless corporations," as giving ground for hope of improvement in industrial relations, is the experiment (now three years old) with the principle of representation in industry, conducted by the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, and the corresponding experiment in Great Britain, of which the familiar Whitley Report of 1917-18 gives us the impressive details.

Both these encouraging experiments have been discussed at length in the book upon which this article is based.** Both have been cited by the author because expressive of industrial relations reorganized on the basis of principles hitherto untried, but which he holds are the only principles on which permanent industrial peace can be established. For him, the root requirement for a sat-

* *Representation in Industry*, p. 28.

** *Industry and Humanity*. By Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King. Houghton, Mifflin and Co. Page 564.

isfying solution of the problem of industry is a *radical* change of attitude on the part of both capital and labor to each other. The basic problem is one of attitude. In vain will a solution be sought in any *external* change such as the *form* of industrial organization. Something more vital is needed. Nothing short of a new spirit will suffice. Mutual mistrust, born of fear, must be replaced by mutual confidence, inspired by faith. How many and varied the fears that afflict capital and labor, management and the community—the four partners to industry—we see dramatically portrayed in the author's treatment of "the principles underlying work."** The process of industrial reconstruction, he contends, must start from a point of view wholly different from that in which we have been silently acquiescing. Emphasis must be laid, first, last and always, not on material, but on human considerations. "And our conception of the human," he adds, "must have something spiritual about it." Assuredly have we thought of industry as an institution of merely material significance, whereas "an unfolding of spiritual capacities is the only true end of life." With tireless insistence does the author reiterate his conviction that our only hope of making a new and promising beginning is with a spiritual conception of life and "out of the human service which it inspires seek to reconstruct our dismantled world."*

Such, in brief, is the author's basic contention, affirmed with cumulative impressiveness throughout the five hundred pages of his octavo volume. Exceptional value attaches to it first, because of the distinct contributions the author has made to the exposition of the problem of industrialism and to its solution and, secondly, because pronounced authority and usefulness are given the book by introduction of the author's personal experiences "gained

from a contact with labor problems, more or less intimate, over twenty years." Quite unusual was the equipment of Mr. King for the task he set himself to achieve in this book. He has been both Deputy Minister and Minister of the Department of Labor of the Government of Canada. In the latter capacity he was called to act as mediator in over forty strikes that warranted Government intervention. He has officially visited Japan, China and India on various missions relative to labor immigration and at the late Mr. Roosevelt's invitation he went to England to adjust the Oriental question in such wise as to avoid friction between America and Japan. It was he who, in 1907, framed the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act of Canada, upon which our American Newlands Act was based. In 1910 he introduced and supported in the Canadian Parliament the Combines Investigation Act and then drew up an Industrial Conditions Investigation Act, the former aiming at due control of trusts, monopolies and mergers, the latter at investigation, in the public interest, of any industrial relation demanding it.**

On invitation of the Rockefeller Foundation Mr. King planned to undertake an extensive and intensive study of industrial relations in different countries with a view to offering constructive suggestions on industrial policies.* Unhappily, the war prevented fulfillment of this plan and instead he decided to make a personal investigation into the root causes of industrial controversies in America and to contribute, by suggestion or otherwise, to working out improvements in the relations between capital and labor. He decided further to "prepare a statement of underlying principles which are finding expression in the organization of industrial society and which should obtain in all ef-

** Pp. 237 foll.

* Pp. 84-5, 125.

* P. IX.

** See pp. 495, foll., for detailed discussion of these acts.

forts at reconstruction. This volume marks the completion of that endeavor." **

The keynote of the author's programme of industrial reconstruction is sounded in this sentence of the introduction to his volume: "There must be a vision of industrial relationships broader than that which seeks the exclusive advancement of special interests. Industry must be made to serve and to save humanity through recognition of common interests between men of all classes and of all countries." To him, there is nothing mysterious about the fundamental cause of industrial strife. It owes its origin not to the economic questions involved but to a certain blindness on the part of capital to matters of vital significance to labor and a corresponding blindness of labor to matters of real import to capital. There is, moreover, an unwillingness on the part of each to approach their respective issues with an attempt at appreciation of the fundamental sameness of feelings and aspirations in all human beings. And so capital and labor are drawn into conflict and come to hate each other, when their interests are, in reality, common rather than antagonistic.

Viewing the problem first in its "world aspect," Mr. King makes plain the effects of the gradual evolution of industry toward world expansion. Under the combined agency of the fruits of discovery and invention, industry has been literally revolutionized. A capitalistic class, commanding markets and controlling the sources of production and of labor has replaced the primitive domestic régime in which a man worked in his own house, with his own tools and his own materials and then sold the product. Inevitably, there arose a severance of capital and labor. A distinct employing class and a distinct labor class, working for wages, came into existence. And as the severance in-

creased the relations between the two parties became increasingly strained. As a consequence, both capital and labor have sought security in consolidation of their respective interests, each conscious of the world-wide scope of the forces of competition to which each finds itself increasingly subjected. But neither capital nor labor has as yet risen to appreciation of the fact that these forces of competition to which each has to contend, *operate on a world scale for each*. Yet nothing short of this appreciation will enable the two parties to see that their interests are common rather than opposed. Nothing is more truly calculated to bring about a removal of the difficulties besetting each than just such an outlook upon the forces of competition of which both are obliged to take account.

Turning next to the "human aspect" of the problem of industry Mr. King shows that its import lies in restoring, *under new forms*, the personal contacts that obtained under the old domestic system. World expansion of industry entailed a loss of personal relationship between employer and employed. Moreover it generated a habit of looking on labor as a commodity and ignoring all that recognition of personality demands. Yet so important is this recognition that it has created a new problem in the understanding and management of labor. Unlike machines, human workers remain always ends in themselves, while as participants in the process of transforming natural substances into commodities for human use they are means to an end. "Standards that fail to distinguish between personnel and matériel, that ignore the sacredness of human life are without meaning as factors in the solution of industrial problems." * Unless we start in our search for a solution, with a spiritual conception of man and some belief in a lofty destiny for him our effort is doomed to failure. Too long have we sought to separate

** P. XVIII.

* p. 515.

the laborer from his labor and estimated the latter as a commodity having material value, all the while disregarding personality and its latent possibilities, blind to the truth that human life is designed for the unfolding of these. And when capital and labor alike shall have risen to realization of this distinctive purpose of human life, distinguishing between wealth and well-being and recognizing the aspirations and endeavors common to both parties, a long forward step will have been taken on the road that leads to permanent industrial peace.

It has been the custom of economists to take cognizance of only three parties as factors in production. Mr. King adds a fourth—the community—"the silent partner whose substantial contributions pass unheralded," yet without whose participation the services of the other three parties must spell failure. For, the community or public "provides the natural resources and powers that underlie all production, secures law and order, maintains Government and foreign relations, breeds opinion, promotes, through concessions or otherwise, the agencies of transportation, communication, credit, banking and the like without which any production, save the most primitive, would be impossible. It is the community which creates the demand for commodities and services through which labor is provided with remunerative employment and capital with a return upon its investment."

To effect harmonious co-operation among these four parties and to co-ordinate their respective functions so as to insure "the utmost freedom in the interweaving of human effort,"—such is the pressing problem of industrial reconstruction. Mr. King sees a clue to its solution in Pasteur's "law of peace, work and health," as applied to industrial relations. In 1888 the eminent scientist declared, with prophetic insight, that "two contrary laws seem to be wrestling with each other nowa-

days,—the one a law of blood and death, forcing nations to be ever ready for the battlefield; the other, a law of peace, work and health, ever evolving new means for delivering man from the scourges which beset him. The one seeks violent conquests; the other, the relief of humanity." This law, Mr. King contends, "points the way to co-operation between the parties to industry and to co-ordination of human effort on a scale as enduring as it is universally applicable."* It is moreover a law "applicable alike to industry as a whole and to the minutest relations arising in its individual processes." Successful application of this law is conditioned by "clear discernment between human and material values and recognition of the sacredness of human personality."** Not only are peace, work and health inclusive of all conditions essential to effective co-operation among the parties to industry and to co-ordination of effort; they are also inseparable and interdependent and most of the confusion in industry has been due to non-appreciation of this interdependence of all three. Founded upon this law are certain principles which "take the form of rules of conduct or methods of organization," all of them presupposing discernment between human and material values and an attitude of belief in common as contrasted with opposed interests. Realizing the utter failure of the law of blood and death to solve the crucial problem of industry we are driven, says the author, to test the efficiency of the contrary law by the adoption of the attitude of trust inspired by faith as against one of suspicion—founded on fear. Fear and faith are infallible in their effects on peace, work and health. They "lie at the roots of each, sapping or nourishing vitality." Let faith be substituted for fear, let mutual confidence supplant suspicion and constructive goodwill re-

* P. 164.

** P. 159.

place resistance, let the four parties to industry recognize a mutuality, not a conflict, of interest in all that pertains to maximum production and equitable distribution of wealth and at once a new freedom is given to effort, productivity is increased as well as the respective reward of all the parties.

Following immediately upon the author's presentation of his Pasteurian basis of industrial reconstruction are two hundred pages of searching analysis of the "principles underlying peace, work and health," supplemented in each case by definite practical suggestions whereby faith—the root-requirement—may be substituted for the fear which, in one or another form, has taken hold of each of the four parties to industry. Special emphasis is laid upon the *conditio sine qua non* of mutual faith and complete understanding between the parties to industry, viz.: "exact statement of terms and conditions of employment; clearly defined and adequate means of *speedy* redress of wrongs; provision of sources of appeal by employees, in persons or through their representatives; provision of facilities for collective bargaining and the making of joint trade-agreements." Above all is the "principle of round table conference" insisted upon as absolutely essential to successful government in industry. Partnership worthy the name must imply equality as respects the rights of representation in the determination of policy on matters of economic interest, a principle that has sadly failed of recognition hitherto but the justice of which is unquestioned. And such representation must include the community no less than labor because without the community "a joint profiteering scheme" might be entered upon by the other three parties. The more monopoly of control is tried the more apparent does it become that joint control by all the parties is imperative as a remedial measure to stop that struggle for supremacy of control in which the parties have long been engaged, re-

vealing the very antithesis of partnership and round table conference.

In a brilliant passage of his chapter on "Representation in Industry," Mr. King has shown how national necessity, created by the war, led each of the four parties voluntarily to abandon some measure of its separatist attitude, each anxious to participate in what was regarded as a form of national service. What we now need is that this inspiring spectacle of round table conference, temporarily practiced by all four parties in time of war, be given permanent expression in the new era of peace. For, it was the monopolistic control of industry by capital and management that stirred labor and the community to protest in the form of one or another type of industrial government, e. g. State Socialism, Syndicalism, the National Guild Movement, each of which, in some measure militates against real partnership. Only as self-government shall be worked out on the basis of adequate representation of all parties can we have the most perfect possible form of industrial government. Evolution toward this goal is certain to be both gradual and intermittent, appearing in individual industries before it extends to industry as a whole.* So long as one or another of the four parties insists upon sole right of control and so long as industry is regarded solely as a revenue producing process and not also as a noble form of social service, progress toward self-government in industry will be seriously checked and the day indefinitely postponed for the drafting of an industrial constitution that shall serve as a bulwark of freedom for all four parties. The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company and the British Joint Standing Industrial Councils, to which reference has already been made, furnish conclusive proof that monopoly of control can give way *with advantage to all concerned*, to round table con-

* P. 426.

ference and joint control, based on real partnership.

The closing chapter of this exhaustive discussion of industrialism is devoted to education, "the last line of defence against industrial strife." "If," says the author, "I have sought to promote legislation which would make investigation available in many directions it is because I have faith in the power of an intelligently framed public opinion to remove any injustice and to redress any wrong." Publicity, in his judgment, is far more effective than penalty to remedy industrial wrongs. Public investigation in matters of labor controversy is, he believes, the most powerful of all instruments for putting a stop to arbitrary conduct and wherever employed has proved advantageous to all the parties concerned. Not until the principle of investigation prior to strike or lock-out shall have been made universally applicable by State enforcement (such as the Canadian Government instituted for the duration of the war) will industry serve humanity and the world be made safe for democracy. The profound and far reaching significance of this principle is made manifest in the author's exposition of the Canadian Industrial Disputes Investigation Act of which he was the originator. Only as capital and labor shall agree not to sever relations till their dispute has been submitted to enlightened public opinion, only as they shall unite as partners under an ideal of social service will industry cease to be a battleground of contending factions and become instead the most potent agent in the transforming of civilization.

One cannot but wish that the author in presenting the industrial problem and the steps toward its solution had refrained from persistent sandwiching

of parallel problems and solutions in the field of internationalism. Better would it have been to deal with these latter in a separate section of the work, for by so doing the continuity of his thought would have been maintained without hazarding the clarity.

In these days of exuberant confidence in short cuts and quick results it is refreshing to note the sobriety and reserve that everywhere mark Mr. King's dealing with the problem of industry. For him the notion of a panacea for industrial ills is ridiculous. Education, patience, experimentation, slow and cautious procedure, are the watchwords he enjoins. "The surest method," he says, "is that which proceeds step by step, avoiding cataclysmic changes."* The change of attitude, from mistrust, born of fear, to trust inspired by faith, "will involve patience, but nothing short of it will solve the problems to which industry gives rise."** (a) Penetrating insight into the dire need of a radical change in the attitude of capital and labor to each other; (b) recognition of the community as a fourth factor in industrial partnership, not to be disregarded; (c) an ethical conception of participation in industry, as in the nature of social service, thus giving to labor a significance and dignity denied it in the past; (d) fruitful application of Gresham's law to competing standards in industry; (e) stressing anew the part to be played by education in working out a solution of the problem of industry—these are distinctive contributions which entitle the book to grateful and appreciative reading by all who would help make industry "serve and not scourge" humanity.

* P. 400.

** P. XV.

UPBUILDING THE PRISONER'S CHARACTER

BY J. F. WRIGHT*

IN THE back room of a church house attic, four Detroit young men met with their leader, on the first Sunday in September, 1914, for the study of practical human constructive psychology, together with the law of compensation, or cause and effect, as they might be applied in the building of character. Two months later a copy of the *Detroit News*, mentioning the class and the subject of study, reached a young man serving a fifteen-year sentence (his fourth term) in a Montana prison. He wrote asking if he might study with the class by correspondence, and from this beginning in 1914, the work has grown until it reaches over 5,000 men and women in twenty-six different prisons throughout the country, either through classes organized in the prisons with inmates as leaders working under the direction of the parent class, or by individual correspondence.

The following January, the class was organized as the "Pathfinders of America," with the motto: "To know the law and live a life of service to mankind." The work was entirely satisfactory to the members of the church where the class met, until the following June, when one of the prison correspondents was to be released on parole. Realizing that neither the man from prison nor the church members were prepared to co-operate to any mutual advantage, the class voted unanimously to leave the church, and thereafter its meetings were held in Palmer Park, or on the upper deck of one of the ferry boats all that summer, until two prominent business men who knew of the work, interceded with the members of the Detroit Board of Commerce, who

provided a comfortable meeting place, where the class has met ever since.

The first "Inside Council" was organized in the Michigan Reformatory, at Ionia, September 16, 1916, with 127 charter members averaging twenty-seven years and two months of age, representing twelve nationalities, three races and nineteen religious denominations. During the first year, this council came to exert an influence over 680 prisoners, 320 of whom were released on parole. Had the best previous Ionia record prevailed, 74 of these men would have been returned, or had the average prison record prevailed, 112 would have been returned, but as it was, only five were returned as parole violators.

The second council was organized in San Quentin, California, where most effective work is being carried on. The third was organized in the Michigan State Prison, but for political reasons, the work has been suspended during the past year. The fourth is in the Woman's Department of the Vermont State Prison at Windsor, with a colored woman, a life prisoner, who has a wonderful influence for good with the other inmates, as president and leader. The fifth, in the Detroit House of Correction, which includes both men and women prisoners, is conducted by the parent council, as is also the sixth, which is in the Wayne County Jail. The seventh is in the Brushy Mountain Prison, Petros, Tennessee, where the inmates are taking a wonderful interest in the work, and the eighth has been organized in the Salt Lake City Prison, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Membership in the prison councils is controlled by the members themselves, with the sanction and approval of the prison officials. A member of an inside council automatically becomes a

*Executive Secretary and Leader of the Pathfinders of America.

member of the nearest outside council upon his release from prison.* The parent council acts as first friend to members of inside councils when they are released from prison and aids in finding homes and employment, as well, as in securing a proper social environment. With Mrs. A. E. Stewart as president, a number of the most prominent women of Detroit have organized an auxiliary to aid the Pathfinders in their work. The auxiliary also co-operates with the Parent-Teacher Association in the effort to create public opinion as to the necessity of making character building the foundation of our public school system. If the philosophy of the Pathfinders will serve to reform so-called "hardened criminals," there is every reason to believe it could be made to work as a preventive with children.

The teaching of the Pathfinders consists in an exposition and elaboration of the theme set forth by Henley in his lines,

I am the master of my fate,
I am the captain of my soul.

We insist upon emphasizing and reiterating the truth, that amongst all the causes of crime, the prisoner is himself an indispensable cause. He has played the part of enemy to himself and there exists a critical center of wrong within him. Most prisoners brood over the injustices of ordinary prison discipline, the stupidities of the attempts at punishment, the inequalities of sentences, the existence outside of prisons of criminally-minded persons who by cleverness or chance escape legal penalties. While the Pathfinders blink at none of these wrongs, they always ask: "How about yourself? Amidst all these evils are you blameless? Were you trying to be a serviceable member of society when you committed crime?"

Practically without exception, the men and women acknowledge their

guilt. The Pathfinders then proceed to encourage them to build up a positive ethical personality; as they have been foes to themselves, so they have it in their power to become their own friends and saviors. As they have permitted habit to destroy them, they must now employ habit to their edification. Nothing that anyone can think concerning them is so important as what they really think of themselves. They must learn the laws of their own nature, the meaning of their relationship to other persons. They must discover how to train themselves for useful work.

It is astonishing to see how eagerly large numbers of prisoners grasp this doctrine and mould their lives anew under its influences. To many it seems to come as an evangel. It bursts prison bars while they still remain in prison. One man who, during twenty years of a life sentence, has saved \$100 gave \$50 of it to promote the work of the Pathfinders. Another who might have secured release by making application remained in prison to establish an inside club.

The first prison correspondent of the organization in Montana was pardoned in 1918, because of good behavior and poor health, and will graduate as a chiropractor in 1920. He writes in the *Detroit News*, "I am not proud of my past, but am proud of my present and future. For years I was known as a typical habitual criminal. I served four sentences, and I know if the lessons of the Pathfinders could reach me at the depth I was then, no case is hopeless. When I graduate from this school, I shall start a free clinic among the poor, and maybe help some poor kids to grow into men, instead of prison material."

A life prisoner writes: "I am a fourth-termer in penal institutions of various states and have served to date thirteen years solid, on a life sentence behind these walls, and I want to say, that no official in any of the prisons where I have been incarcerated has

* There are outside councils in Detroit and Ann Arbor, Michigan, and in San Francisco, San Diego and Los Angeles, California, with others in the process of organization.

ever taught or attempted to teach me how to become a real man. The Pathfinders have taught me that we must serve mankind with a heart full of love for all—friend or enemy."

A woman who is a life prisoner writes: "I just love the work—Pathfinding has taught me how to serve. I am more tolerant, and love, the master-key, fits all hearts. I have learned to love all, knowing what is good for all is good for me."

in the way of attaining this ethical spirit by treating them as persons. It endeavors to prevent the reformatory aim of the prison from being crushed under the weight of discipline and machinery. The effort is not merely to give to prisoners a certain amount of knowledge, important as the training of the intellect is to them. Indeed this work might almost better not be performed if sharpened wits are to be placed at the service of a savage, selfish



A NEW WAY OF SPENDING THE SUMMER VACATION

A prisoner in Arizona writes: "I conscientiously believe that anyone possessing the knowledge of Pathfinder philosophy that I have, could be happy in hell."

The object of the Pathfinders organization is to quicken in the individual prisoner a realization of the spiritual preciousness and ethical responsibility of his own nature, and to awaken in him a sense of the high obligations which rest upon all to carry forward the work of mankind in the direction of progress. It tries to put prisoners

or unenlightened will. The chief function of the prison system should be recognized to be the development of independent, self-reliant, honorable, clean-minded, fearless, incorruptible, forward-moving and socially awakened citizens of the world. The Pathfinders try to stimulate each prisoner to think of himself as a creative person, whose failures can be sublimated into wisdom and whose distinctive note has a real value in the general chorus of mankind. He must not merely copy and he must not

sing falsely. While still in prison he may begin to think and act as a vital part of the living social fabric. He may learn to see society in all of its institutions as the result of the play and interplay of persons like himself, and to feel that part of the responsibility for the conscious evolution of an improved

world rests upon him and that every existing evil challenges him to help replace it by something better. It is not enough that when he is released, he shall merely fail to return to prison; he should rather become a positive factor in the upbuilding of the ideals and practices of society.

OUR OWN NEIGHBORHOOD

BY EMMA MUEDEN

FOR many years the New York Society for Ethical Culture has influenced communities. It has reached forth into remote districts of the city, into the Far West, and even across the Atlantic, but until this year it has not attempted to embrace its immediate neighborhood. Suddenly there was an awakening, and though there was but a vague idea of the need, work was planned which would arouse the spirit of community service close at home.

One of the plans was evidently based on the idea of which the Ethical Culture School is an outgrowth—it is difficult to redirect the adult; therefore begin with the child. A summer play school was arranged for. The public schools and the Charity Organization Society furnished the names of children living in the vicinity who would profit by the school. House to house visiting revealed appalling conditions, for all that could be said of districts where community houses are maintained as imperative necessities, was true of the district within a stone's throw of the Society, which had for years supported community houses in distant parts of the city. The large family to be supported on exceedingly small wages, the crowded, squalid quarters, the neglected children—it was the same story. The medical examinations for admission showed that few of the children were in normal condition, the poorly developed bodies being subnormal in weight,

while the skin showed that bathing was a rarity.

Although only 110 children were enrolled before the opening day, on succeeding mornings it was common to hear, "I just brought my sister's children—she's a widow," or "Here are some fellows from my block. 'Kin' they come in?" or "Is this one too little? He's *nearly* four." (The age limit was from four to fourteen years.) Although the number on the roll was kept far above the limit set by our finances, many applicants had to be turned away until a vacancy should occur. From districts such as the Bronx, where there were no facilities for caring for children during the summer months, came mothers who asked permission to leave their children with the school until they could call for them on their way home from work.

The entrance to the building presented a rare sight in the morning—mothers with babies in their arms, full go-carts, big sisters and brothers herding groups of younger children, were waiting for the doors to open at 8:45—a strong contrast to the limousines and the smart looking maids and chauffeurs of the winter set.

It required little effort to keep the children interested. They were busy doing things they liked to do. They hated "reg'lar school," but the long day of the play school, from 9 a. m. to 4:30 p. m. was all too short for the fun they

got out of it. Their questions had a touching wistfulness: "There ain't a reg'lar school like this in the winter, is there?" "I s'pose it costs as much as \$50?" "But they don't have 'gym' and shop and lunch, do they?" "Gee, ain't them 'fellers' in the winter lucky!"

inquired anxiously whether the school would reopen in the following year. To many it had been a revelation to know that their children, and therefore they themselves, were of individual value to the community.

The demand for Americanization is



THEY CAME TO THE PLAY SCHOOL

They worked like beavers, ate like hungry children, slept like over-tired youngsters during their hours of enforced rest after luncheon, played their games hard and learned to play fairer, and went home with regret. The parents came in frequently, helped on gala occasions, and when the summer session was over,

marked in this district, where the majority of the children are of foreign parentage: the younger ones have to be addressed through an interpreter and the older ones have had to spend so much of their time in school learning English that they have had no chance to learn what it is to be an American.

George Washington is merely a magic wand in answer to any question—he wrote "Carmen," he discovered America, he freed the slaves. What slaves? "The labor unions," was the answer.

The regret at the close of the play school should not be wasted. There should be follow-up work—opportunities made to keep in touch with the children through a continuance of some of the summer activities such as even-

then exclaim once more at the little bodies caked with dirt? Are the gains in weight through proper feeding and rest to be lost because there is no knowledge of the proper thing in the home? Investigation proved that the children who gained during the days at school usually lost over the week-end when the school was closed. In order to hold the parents, entertainments might be given by their children to the



PREPARING FOR THE EXHIBIT OF HANDWORK

ing "gym" classes, and afternoon classes in dramatics, sewing, carpentry.* A home visitor should keep in touch with the mothers for the sake of carrying on the work of improving the physical condition of the children. It has already been brought to our notice that some of the younger children have not been bathed since the school closed. Are we going to wait until next June, and

winter school, and vice versa, and a crowning feat would be a combination pageant for the community.

One of the satisfactory results of the summer's experiment was the proof that the Ethical Culture School is doing something of what it aims to do, for the most helpful and understanding volunteer workers came from the ranks of the high school. It required much effort to bring the outside helpers, furnished by the city, to a realization of what was in view. The play school proved a practice field for the Ethical Culture School—a rich ground—and the

* A brief account of some of the follow-up work which is either under way or planned will be found in the news notes in this issue.

—EDITOR.

fruits were not all for the play school pupils. Could the summer members be brought into direct contact with the winter pupils by means of various group organizations, there would be vast profit.

A vista has been opened—is it to be

closed or widened? Will the experience of the Ethical Society open the eyes of others who, like ourselves, have mounted so high in order to have a wide range on which to throw light that the area immediately around is left in darkness?

TO-DAY'S CHALLENGE TO RELIGIOUS RADICALS*

BY HENRY NEUMANN

WHAT a strangely checkered life the world is living now that the war is over! Instances of superb conduct we have had in abundance. One thinks of the willingness with which men and women have borne incredible burdens for the sake of the right as they saw it. Brave young men have counted pain and death as nothing compared with the doing of duty in the face of particularly fiendish trials. But if the war has quickened in man aught which is good, it has also unchained the sub-humanities; and these are still rampant. Who can count how many the boiling emotions of these years have left, if not worse persons, certainly not better? One does not like to recall the widespread orgies of profiteering, the scramble for luxuries, the aggravated jingoisms, the wild eruptions of savagery in these race riots in our own country, the frantic outbursts of all sorts of intolerance, the unashamed imperialisms of many among the victors. The animal in man has broken loose everywhere.

What do these facts betoken? I want to speak this morning of the reasons why in these days I have found our Ethical Fellowship means so much to me. On all sides we

hear the call to rebuild. I want to examine as fairly as I can three types of such appeal to men's passion for the right, appeals which succeed in evoking wonderfully noble behavior but which nevertheless cannot serve, it seems to me, as the type the world needs most.

I

Let us look first at the churches. The good they do is still immense. To most men the church would be a blessing if it did nothing else than afford the least glimpse into a life better than the kind all about us. But for all its momentary flicker of new life, the church is a waning light. There was a time when men took their religion with far greater seriousness than most do to-day. Despite the heroic labors of theologians, it has grown harder to believe that such a world as we now know was made by a Creator, and an all-powerful, benevolent Creator at that.

Yet even if such a reconciliation were possible, the conduct of the churches shows too clearly how deficient their guidance is to-day. The real beliefs that lie back of institutions are always revealed by the actual behaviors. Perhaps I am too biassed; but it looks to me as if in the main the conduct of the churches during the war revealed a fundamental defect in their beliefs. To

* An address delivered before the Brooklyn Society for Ethical Culture, October 5, 1919. It is understood that utterances from our platform are personal and do not commit the Society as a whole.

put it bluntly, I think that what most of the churches have done has been of a sort to inflame the world's illness rather than to heal it. Have not the churches outdone even the newspapers in preaching hatred and vengeance? Have they led in reminding us that the world's evil is rooted more deeply than in the sin, howsoever black, of the one offender? Certain young men, called to take up arms, replied, "We believe that the war lust is found not only in Prussia but elsewhere. We find it in ourselves. We will not kill. There is a better way of driving out violence than to repeat the enemy's evil." These young men went to jail. Some died there. Some have been needlessly broken in health and crippled. Some were shot. Did the church, custodian (as we thought it) of the sanctities of conscience, plead for them? Did it raise its voice in behalf of a juster treatment than they have received? In the main with but a few honorable exceptions, it joined the pack in hunting them down. And its conduct upon other phases of the war has been of the same kind. As George Bernard Shaw says, the churches resisted the invasion of the Prince of Peace more fiercely than that of the Kaiser.

Their motives in keeping the war spirit hot have undoubtedly been genuine. The churches believed themselves called upon in a time of crisis to champion the very highest right. But the very honesty of their zeal simply illustrates the exceedingly important point that our views of right may bring the gravest moral peril to mankind because they are not right enough. And this has been the case in the history of the church for many long centuries. In practice it has tied up the world's good to the single incomplete expression of that good which it took under its special protection. Its solution of the problem of good and evil has been alto-

gether too simple. In the third century of the Christian era, there appeared in Persia a religion known as Manichaeism which taught that there were two kingdoms, a light and a dark, in perpetual conflict. As an organized religion, Manichaeism perished; but men's minds have found a persistent fascination in its attitude toward evil: good on one side, bad on the other, and between the two a holy war. How easy would be the task of the ethically-minded if such indeed were the solution!

The church, however, has been notoriously Manichaean. It has always set the Kingdom of Heaven sharply over against the realm of Satan; and to the latter belonged all whom the church for any reason disliked. Catholicism identified all good with Catholic teaching. Hence with clear conscience, and not at all because it was wicked, the Roman Church persecuted unbelievers. The Protestant Church restricted the good to the teachings of Luther and Calvin; and again justice was withheld from those in any other camp. To-day the same Manichaean spirit has kept the church from doing justice to those whose convictions forbade them to wield a bayonet. It has failed of moral leadership because in its zeal to render unto Caesar his due, it has identified international good with the conduct of its own state and bad entirely with that of the foe. The worship of a tribal god has not been an exclusively Teutonic performance. Few things have been more distressing than the way in which everywhere ministers of religion have been the most intemperate in reviling the enemy, in extravagantly lauding their own people, in confusing justice with sheer vengeance. They have been the spokesmen of an institution whose utterances have always been pronounced with absolute finality. Small wonder that the war has encouraged the

dogmatic temper. The history of the church is too full of a willingness to take precisely such attitudes. The Allies marched under the banner of the Lord; the Kaiser was the Devil. An easy solution of the problem of international ethics, no doubt. Is it adequate?

II

Another force for righteousness that has claimed men's devotion in these days has been national idealism. It has assuredly touched great multitudes of men and women to better life by giving them an object to serve. Indeed I suspect that the war-time zeal of the churches has been not so much religious in its inspiration as it has been nationalistic. The nation is so vivid an image, the appeal it makes is so direct? Many who could see nothing else to claim their chief fidelity beheld at once when the nations went to war, a glorified, wonderfully captivating object of devotion.

But is any appeal more likely to strike the Manichaean note? And if at the present moment the peace treaty contains so much to be regretted, if the world is still as likely to be plunged into new wars as it was in 1914, may it not be that this national idealism to which the millions have been rallied has not been ideal enough?

We were told that this was a war to end war; but though Germany is out of the running, the old race in armaments is evidently to go on. Secretary Baker asks Congress for a permanent army of over half a million men. The army is to be drafted although conscription, we had thought, was the peculiar flower and fruit of Prussianism. Secretary Daniels objects to the beggarly fifteen million dollars which Congress has appropriated for navy aviation: he calls it too small in view of the

fact that Great Britain has appropriated ten times as much. These allusions to the greater expenditures of a possible enemy have a familiar ring. Why do we hear them now, after the world has been made safe for the peace-loving countries? The *New York Times* of February 17, 1919, quotes the head of the Chemical Service of the American Expeditionary Forces as saying that "the use of poison gas, described as 'the most humane method of fighting if both sides are prepared for it,' is destined to have permanent place in warfare." We have now in America a poison gas more frightful than any yet used anywhere. What has become of the plea that when German militarism was defeated, the rivalry for military supremacy would end?

Preparations for the next war include many a surprising item. Do you recall how horrified we were by the tragic fate of Edith Cavell? The shooting of a woman symbolized afresh the inherent bestiality of war. But mark what has followed. When the American Bar Association met this summer, its committee on military law brought in these two significant reports: the minority report declared (see the *Times* of August 27th) that the execution of Miss Cavell had been an entirely legal act and that military law should be changed to forbid a repetition; the majority report accepted the legality but was opposed to recommending that the law be amended to exempt women. "It would be inadvisable," say the report, "unless such a provision were in the codes of all the nations with whom we would be likely to be at war." But was not this to be the last war? In that faith millions of splendid young fellows went forth to the business of slaying and being slain, from which else they might have held back. Yet militarism is not dead. It has lost its Prussian uniform; it is ordering

fresh uniforms for France, for Great Britain, for Italy, for America.

These truths are unwelcome to the nationalistic spirit which all wars intensify. The last thing which it wants to hear is that the evil which it is fighting is also found at home. During this war much was made of the fact that the German people had to be punished for the sins of their rulers, inasmuch as they did not prevent those sins and should have risen in revolt. Many a man who was puzzled by the President's declaration that we had no quarrel with the German people and by the fact that war was nevertheless waged upon these very people, reconciled his doubts when he was told that the Germans should not have allowed their rulers to do their dastardly acts. But I wonder, friends, whether it might not be possible to make out something of the same sort of case against you and me here in America, against the people in the Allied countries, for the sins of our own governments too?

I refer to the sin of starving the women and children of Central and Eastern Europe by that blockade which forbade food to the utterly innocent even after the firing had ceased. Were our people able to prevent this act of their governors? Russia has been ravaged by famine and disease. But ships carrying Red Cross supplies were turned back by allied cruisers. Our people have not voted war upon Russia. Who voted that America should supply arms to the Czarist Admiral Kolchak and help starve the Soviet Republic? Or take the case of Hungary. There a Soviet Republic was set up without the violence that gave so plausible a pretext for intervention in Russia. Yet against Hungary too a food blockade was instituted and the troops of our allies were let loose. It may be that the handful of men responsible for these acts were en-

tirely right. The point is that even in our democracies, and since the armistice, the people have had so little voice in these decisions that surely we ought to think of the German people with at least some slight charity for their inability to prevent the acts of their rulers in the midst of war.

The people of England seem to have been as helpless as the people of Germany. When the war was ended, the Egyptians, taking perhaps too seriously the watchword of self-determination, protested against Great Britain's continuing her "protectorate" over them and demanded independence. They were met by deportations, handcuffs, executions. In India they did the same thing; and British airplanes dropped bombs upon even non-combatant Hindus. By order of the British people? We ourselves are partners in England's guilt in Egypt, because when the Peace Conference assembled, President Wilson acknowledged England's right to this protectorate. With the consent of the American people? When delegates from Korea tried to go to Paris to present the claim of their country for independence from Japan, officials in Washington refused them passports. Was this the will of our people? What answer could we make if Koreans, Egyptians, Indians, Russians, Hungarians asked why the men and women in the democracies did not prevent these acts of their governments?

Never in these years was the thought permitted expression that perhaps in us too there existed something of the evil we were fighting in the enemy. Nor was the idea allowed that the German people possessed qualities which might make of their country a quite worthy partner in a genuine League of Nations. We know now that many besides Karl Liebknecht protested against both the war and the methods of

waging it. The *Brooklyn Eagle*, in reporting the death of Professor Haeckel this summer, mentioned the fact that he was one of a group of professors who recanted their earlier approval of their government's conduct. During the war we had been told often enough of the chauvinism of the German professors. Only now do we learn that there were recantations. The point is that we were kept from doing justice to the Germans and Austrians not only by our unwillingness to confess that we and our allies had our own sore need of penance, but also by the fact that we were not permitted to keep in mind that the German people were capable of better dealings than the sort perpetrated in their name. Justice to an offender consists in making him see that he has not done himself justice and that he must be true to that better self which the others, even in their reprobation of him, recognize in him. But such a conception of justice is unwelcome to the national idealism fostered by war. Hence a Peace Treaty which sanctions the very offences, the militarisms, the imperialistic plunderings, we were told this war was fought to abolish. (The plea that a victorious Germany would have imposed a still more iniquitous peace comes with poor grace from avowed saviors of the world's ethics.) Hence our continuing to go on in the old way, now that the war is over, as if these five years had taught us nothing better than to prepare still larger armies and more deadly poison gas.

III

There are those whose hopes for the world's re-building turn to economic radicalism. I can sympathize with the religious energy many people devote to the cause of Socialism. They see it advancing after years of bitter and often grossly unfair

opposition. Personally, without committing any of you to sharing this belief with me, I think the Socialists read the signs of the times more correctly than those who believe that the world will always conduct its business under its present anarchic, strife-breeding system of every man for himself. I am frank to say that among the heroic figures whom I have come to admire, I number Jean Jaures, Karl Liebknecht—think of the bravery of that solitary voice lifted against a war-mad Reichstag!—Eugene Debs. I can understand the burning zeal of Socialists for their cause to-day.

But I see something vastly bigger and nobler to work for than the Socialistic program. By all means let us make sure that no child on this globe need ever go hungry or cold or unschooled, no life be broken by excessive toil, no slums disgrace our cities, no competition for trade routes or fields of investment drag the world into war. But when the last of these ills has been abolished, we have scarcely even approached the real problem we are here on earth to solve. What kind of human being will it take to run a better system of things than this one? Neglect that question, and we neglect the chief justification for changing any social order whatever. Better men, better women, constantly more excellent, are not only our greatest need but our permanent need. Capitalism offers huge temptation to many forms of wrong living; but the removal of even these grave temptations is not enough. When I consider what capitalism does to breed wars, I think also how the war-making tendencies operate in those who are most convinced that a capitalistic society is bad. How selfishly impatient we can all of us be, how quick to resent slights, real or fancied, how easily wounded in our vanity! Prejudices, atavisms, jealousies, conceits, wild

passions of all sorts can do their devastating work even where economic competition plays no more part. Put our main trust in a new kind of social machinery? No. The better the mechanism, the better will have to be the people who must work it.

Moreover even though the Socialist doctrine is quite impersonal in diagnosing our economic and moral ills, too many Socialists fall into the Manichaean mood and fail to do justice to the business classes. I have often wished that Socialists, instead of denouncing the business man as a mere money-maker, tried to make him see that under the present system he was not doing justice to himself. The business man is in business rather than in teaching, let us say, or the medical profession, because he has certain gifts of initiative, direction, management. With many men, the economic motive, important as it is, does not come first. Business is a kind of exercise for their talents at upbuilding. But the great pity is that our present competition too often forces the money-getting motives into the foreground and makes the business man lose sight of the truer and better aims. Instead of encouraging him to be a leader and a maker of men, our present conditions encourage the haggling spirit; they make him fight his competitors and his workmen instead of striving with them to outdo the world's present achievement in the better providing for the real needs of men, women and children; they make him exploit and use up his fellow-creatures; they make him deaf to many a proposal for a wiser ordering of the world's life. They keep him from doing justice to himself. I wish that Socialists could convince him that he is capable of rendering mankind far greater services than he performs now. Does this sound impractical? For my own part I am

persuaded that no appeal is going to work permanently that does not address itself to the higher nature in all who are concerned, in the masters no less than in the masses.

IV

This is why in thinking over the challenge of to-day, I find myself more and more drawn to our Ethical Fellowship. People need a bond to unite them in service to something nobler than their chance impulses. That bond must be an ideal greater and higher and more inclusive than we find in the church or in nationalism or in the passion for economic reconstruction. Whatever is good in these the ethical ideal will use. The Ethical Movement is not restricted to any one type of effort for righteousness. Its task is an eternal task, not simply to get rid of the crying evils of the moment or to banish the foes that happen to block the immediate progress of mankind. Our everlasting job is to overcome such foes in nothing but right ways; and in the process we are to make ourselves more worthy members of the race. If a movement for righteousness makes its workers poorer types of human beings, less fair-minded for example, rest assured that in its root principle there is something wrong.

The Ethical Society tries to avoid that peril by keeping the door open always to new and broader and finer conceptions of right living. It is above relying upon the popular motive, the setting over of a perfect light against a perfect darkness. It seeks, as Professor Adler has said, to save the soul not only of the victim of wrong but of the wrongdoer. Over and beyond the best attainments in any of us, are the natures to which we ourselves never do full justice; and in those, too, with whom we differ or from whom we are estranged or who do us wrong are

the better capabilities to which they likewise must be helped to be true, as together—we and they—we acknowledge our shortcomings and turn our faces toward the nobler life. *To help find the best ways for people to do one another justice*, such, as I see it, is the great object and quest of the Ethical Societies. We are not groups of good people; we would not deserve to be here if we thought we were: we are here, with all our many different religious

ancestries, our many divergent social and political beliefs, to help one another discover and practice every day of our lives what is genuinely, eternally and supremely good and right. Beyond the failures and the partial moral triumphs of to-day lie the perfect ways for human beings to live together. Forward with the quest! And let constantly finer visions of excellence speed us to ever heartier service in their behalf!

THE AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION CONFERENCE

BY ROBERT D. KOHN

ARRANGEMENTS for the conference and delegates' meeting of the American Ethical Union, which is to be held in Detroit on November 28th and 29th are rapidly taking shape. It has been suggested that a meeting be called at 10 o'clock Friday morning, November 28th, for a consideration of reports from the various Societies. These reports are to be limited to statements of new developments in Ethical Society work—merely formal reports of current activities are not to be encouraged. For instance, the following topics have been suggested:

(1) New developments in work among the young people. What can be done to help them form their views on the burning social questions of the day and the ever present problem of sex relations?

(2) New developments in Sunday School work. Collaboration between school work and community work.

(3) Practical steps taken by members engaged in industry towards establishing better industrial relations.

(4) Experiments by members of the Societies in establishing better professional and business relations.

A public meeting is suggested for

Friday evening at 8:30, at which one or more of the Leaders of the Society will speak on "The Relation of the Teaching Profession to Vocational Organization."

A meeting on Saturday morning, November 29th, at 9:30, is to be devoted to the business of the Union including (1) The election of officers and committees; (2) Consideration of a re-statement of the aims of the American Ethical Union; and (3) Consideration of resolutions presented by the different Societies.

In this connection the chairman has been notified that certain delegates will present for consideration the question: "Shall our American Ethical Societies follow the example of the English Union of Ethical Societies by petitioning the Government for the release of persons detained in custody because of conscientious objections to participation in war." It is suggested that the delegates from each Society inform themselves as to the general opinion of their own Society on this subject, so that at the Convention the discussion may be representative.

A meeting of the Detroit Ethical Society will be held on Sunday morning,

November 30, at which it is suggested twenty-minute addresses might be made by three of the visiting Leaders.

The delegates of the various Societies have been asked to send their comments on the program, and suggestions are invited as to the topics which should be considered at the delegate meetings. The program as here outlined is merely tentative.

The program is of necessity rather restricted because it is desirable that Friday afternoon and Saturday afternoon be left free so that delegates may attend the sessions of the Inter-Professional Conference which has been called for the same time and place. This Conference is being organized by a group of professional men entirely outside of any connection with the American Ethical Union. The Committee on organization includes representative educators, physicians, attorneys, engineers, architects and publicists. The purpose of the Conference is defined by its promoters as being "to consider the relationship of the different professions to each other and to the social problems of the day." Under this heading the tentative programme includes consideration of methods of co-operation between professional men and an attempt to distinguish between their functions; a study of their ethical standards and the consideration of the degree to which these standards are self-regarding or socially-minded; a discussion of means whereby the best qualified technical service may be put at the disposition of the Government so as to secure in peace-time some of the enthusiasm for public service available during the war;

means whereby professional men of the country may help toward better education for the professions; appraisal of the degree to which professional men supply the quality and extent of technical service for which there is need among all classes of society; to study the types of professional and technical organizations and discover whether these are adequate for their purpose, and other topics of a similar nature.

These subjects to be considered at the Inter-Professional Conference are so closely related to the purposes of the American Ethical Union that it is deemed highly desirable that the delegates to our conference have the privilege of attendance and participation in the other.

Unless all signs fail, it therefore seems likely that the Detroit conference will be most interesting, not only to the delegates of the various Societies, but to all persons interested in the Ethical Movement who may find it possible to be in Detroit on the two or three days following Thanksgiving Day. The meeting place is so conveniently located, being only one night's journey from any one of the East and Middle West Societies that it ought to be possible for a large number of our members to attend the sessions of both conferences. It is certainly to be hoped that the Ethical Societies will be very largely represented.

Further information with regard to the final program of the meetings may be had on application to the Executive Secretary of the American Ethical Union, Mr. David S. Hanchett, at the offices of THE STANDARD.

THE ETHICAL CULTURE MOVEMENT

Lecture Season Opens

Sunday morning meetings are now being held in all of the Societies. The lecture season was inaugurated in St. Louis, Chicago and Grand Rapids in September and in New York, Brooklyn, the Bronx, Philadelphia and Detroit in October, the speaker in each case being the leader of the Society. Mr. Martin occupied the New York platform on October 12th and 19th, and Dr. Adler followed him on the 26th, taking as his subject, "Moral Questions Involved in the Proposed League of Nations."

New York Society Community Work

Following the excellent beginning which was made last summer by the play school, the Ethical Culture School, in co-operation with the Parents' and Teachers' Association, hopes to render an important service to the people living in the neighborhood of the Society and School buildings. Already a group of young colored men is using the gymnasium for recreation and basketball. The interest which members of this group have manifested in mechanics is to be developed by one of the shop teachers, assisted by older high school boys. Some younger neighborhood boys, who are also using the gymnasium under the leadership of high school students, are to be organized into a club. A small beginning also has been made in furnishing individual musical instruction to talented children of the neighborhood. Two other projects are planned: one, an afternoon shop class for young colored boys, and the other a kindergarten to be organized and conducted by some of the normal students. Under the supervision of the school physician and nurse, all of this work will be carefully regulated along hygienic lines.

Meanwhile the Women's Conference continues to conduct dances three evenings a week, with a half hour of community singing each time. The dances were originally planned for soldiers and sailors, and the boys as they don civilian clothes continue to apply for tickets, while many of the girls have been coming regularly for two years. A canteen, serving light refreshments, is self-supporting. An organization of the patrons of the dances has been effected, under the name of the "Community Club," and the members have asked permission to pay a club fee in order to put the dances on a self-supporting basis.

New York Neighborhood Houses

Following an unusually successful summer, Madison House, Hudson Guild and Toynbee House have entered with new zeal upon the work of the fall. Madison House has issued a special call for volunteer assistance. To meet the growing needs of the neighborhood, a trained nurse, teachers for classes in handwork, directors of play, and club organizers are required.

In addition to the play school and co-operative store, the Hudson Guild maintained continuously throughout the summer a number of other important activities. The Farm had an average attendance of 65 persons a week, each of whom gave three hours a day to work in the fields, the woods and the house. A neighborhood woman, in charge of the milk station which is conducted in Chelsea Park by the council of clubs, sold over 100,000 glasses of milk at one cent to children and five cents to adults. With the aid of neighborhood men, a weekly baseball game and twice-a-week free open air "movies" were also conducted in the park. The Guild house is crowded this fall as never before, and an unusually busy and fruitful year is anticipated.

Toynbee House, although a comparatively new settlement, was able to raise a considerable sum for summer activities; and entertainments and outings on the roof, in the parks, at the seashore, at Bear Mountain and Felicia, were appreciated by a large number of people. The prospects for the coming year are bright, as the neighborhood boys are back and ready to work for the house. An active committee is searching for a suitable site for a permanent summer camp, which the members of the house are determined to obtain before next summer. Many young people belonging to the intermediate and senior clubs camped out at Miss Gruening's summer home in Mountainville, N. Y., during July and August.

The Brooklyn Society

Twelve new applications for membership were received by the Brooklyn Society on the first Sunday. Dr. Neumann's Young People's Study Class will be enlarged to include a group of club leaders from Madison House. On the first three Sundays in November, Dr. Neumann will occupy the Society platform, speaking on "To-Day's Imperialisms and the Seeds of Further War."

Professor Harry A. Overstreet of the College of the City of New York will address the other two meetings of the month.

Philadelphia Sunday School Reorganized

A reorganization of its Sunday School is being undertaken by the Philadelphia Society. As an experiment, the school will convene at the same hour as the Sunday morning meeting of the Society, so that members and others who live at a considerable distance may bring their younger children to the School and at the same time attend the lectures.

At the first meeting of the Society on October 19th, Dr. Algernon S. Crapsey spoke on "Juvenile Delinquency—Its Cause and Consequence." The lectures on the two succeeding Sundays are to be given by Mr. Alfred W. Martin and Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer.

New Meeting Place for Detroit Society

The meetings of the Detroit Society are being held this season on Sunday mornings in Ganapol Hall, 25 Adelaide Street. The building has rooms available for the new Sunday School, conducted by Mrs. Daniel Roy Freeman, and for other class and group meetings. A Woman's Society, which was organized in June, is actively at work. Two study classes are announced for the immediate future, and a third will be organized later in the year. The first is a continuation of the successful class in psychology which met last year. The second will study current social movements, considering such topics as the ethics of property and labor, economic individualism, etc. The third will be a class in child study designed especially for parents.

Chicago Notes

The season began most encouragingly, large audiences greeting Mr. Bridges at his opening addresses, despite inclement weather. A series of five lectures has been given under the general heading, "Some Essential Conditions of Freedom and Progress." The Women's Union continues to be the most active of the groups within the Society. This year the union has decided to hold meetings every other week, and besides continuing philanthropic activities, with special consideration for Henry Booth House, the members hope to take part in some form of reconstruction work, and also to enter seriously upon the study of ethics, taking Sidgwick's *History of Ethics* as their first textbook. The Dramatic Study Group is active in developing the social life of the Society. In addition to a number of enjoyable outings to the country during the summer, the group gave its sixth annual festival in the early fall. Following a delightful reading from Tagore by members of the group, Mr. Bridges made an earnest plea for the historic

drama. A committee has published and is about to distribute a year book giving a résumé of the activities of the Society with special reference to the work of the past year.

St. Louis Religious Organizations Board

The women of the St. Louis Society will co-operate actively with the Board of Religious Organizations, which is engaged in reconstruction work in all fields of social and civic welfare. The two departments in which the women of the Ethical Society will be chiefly concerned are those dealing with institutions and social legislation.

The Women's Auxiliary and the Young People's Association are co-operating in an endeavor to make the Sheldon Memorial a down-town center for popular educational work. Two important lecture courses have been scheduled, the first by Mr. Charles Zueblin on "The Gospel of American Democracy," and the second by Professor Earl Barnes on "The Young Nations of Europe." Heretofore there has been no popular down-town lecture course in the city, and the Society hopes this winter to render a real service by conducting the two courses mentioned.

Mr. Chubb occupied the Society platform at the first three meetings; and Dr. Elliott, who visited St. Louis on October 19th, spoke before the Society, attended the annual meeting, and addressed the men's club.

Boston Lectures

At the urgent request of the group of people interested in the establishment of an Ethical Society in Boston, a series of fifteen weekly lectures will be given there beginning the first Sunday evening in December. The first speaker, Mr. Alfred W. Martin, will deliver four lectures on "Great Moral Questions of the Day." He will be followed by several other of the Ethical leaders.

Mr. Martin Publishes New Booklet

Great Historic Ideals of Life is the title of a new booklet which Mr. Martin is publishing on November 15th, dealing with four great ideals that have been dominant in history: the Greek, Mediaeval Christian, Renaissance, and Modern.

Sunday Evening Club Plays

The Impromptu Players of the Sunday Evening Clubs will give their annual benefit performance in the New York Society Meeting House Friday evening, November 28th, presenting the following plays: *The Angel Intrudes*, by Floyd Dell; *Cowards?* by Leo Mielziner, Jr.; and *Born on Monday*, by Robert A. Simon. Tickets may be obtained from Mr. Ira Robbins, 849 St. Nicholas Avenue, or at the New York Society office.

D. S. H.

A COMMUNICATION*

Self-Determination for China?

Sir:

The Western world resumes its peace again. But look at my country! The internal condition can be settled without any difficulty. What about our external struggles? It seems that China, poor China, is now standing alone in this world to fight for her own justice. The world is a world of inhumanity and immorality. Your country had before, in the old days, pledged to be and remain a friend to us. But in the very moment when we needed your help most anxiously, to break that evil ring scheming the partition of our country and the enslaving of our people, there your representative leaders all refused their hands, but on the contrary signed our death sentence.

We all remember well the ringing words of your President, Mr. Wilson, that your country invited our co-operation and participation in the great war to uphold humanity, that secret diplomacy is to be nullified, that peoples are to have the right of self-government of their own choice, and that once and again the United States announced her upholding the Hay's policy. There has never been a public utterance by a great statesman representing a great power within my memory, that could be so readily forgotten and ignored by that statesman or country. Only until now, I began to realize that we Chinese as a nation had been just hypnotized for the sake of getting a secret plot through. And not only the Chinese, but the Americans and possibly some Englishmen were also hypnotized. Ever since the making of peace treaty began, one step after another presented itself in the attempt of partitioning our lands and of controlling our economic reins. Why should an upholder of humanity, Mr. Wilson, have been intimidated by intrigues and have changed his attitude so suddenly?

Mencius, our Sage, said in a passage, "I know how to keep up my uprightness well. This uprightness, once exercised, will be felt everywhere in the world, but if not exercised, it will hide itself unseen. Were one afraid of anything, there he is doomed in the maintenance of it." This is my picture of Mr. Wilson's life ever since the war was started.

Why should China, an ally of the winning party, share with Germany the punishment? Why should she be so much ill-treated, even though she fought for a righteous course? Why should she be cast aside as spoils of the war, because she does not join in to divide the spoils? Western world believed that might is right. The war transformed many of the Western peoples, not only the Germans, Austrians, Turks or Bulgarians, into "mad dogs." They are rendered so poor that they had to contemplate the partitioning of poor, innocent China, and, above all, "to suck the blood of the poor innocent Chinese" economically, just to pay their war debts.

Why all this? We as a people have never offended other peoples. One can never find any of our wars with foreign countries that was contemplated by us. The Boxers' War? It was caused by a series of nuisance acts by the evil foreign "priests" and aggressive merchants. We have been ill-treated just because we are not of white race, and are of an "inferior race"—inferior not in civilization and morality but in force, arms and cruelty.

The Western people are talking of forming a new financial consortium to assist China. It is a bitter pill coated with thin sugar even. What they demand as a prerequisite? The monopoly of loaning power, the control of all railways, the management of industries (1), the auditing of all accounts, the supervision of civil service, and the general land tax as security. All this before they would loan anything to China. But I wonder what remains that they can loan after this war. Read Mr. Vanderlip's article in the July issue of the *Review of Reviews*, and you can imagine their starving faces.

When the students were striking in Shanghai and Tientsin four months ago, many foreign banks in China, notably the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank and the Yokohama Specie Bank with their government supports even, were on the verge of bankruptcy. The Hongkong and Shanghai Bank had only 200,000 dollars Mex. in the reserve. Not one of these beggar banks was not desperately asking our Chinese people for loans by soaring their rates of interest even to 28 (1) per cent. Their normal rate is now 13 per cent. And yet, we Chinese ordered the immediate stop of strikes, and our banks loaned them a handsome sum. This, then, saved their lives. They now put on an evening dress with all rags inside, and come to say to us: "You better let me keep your money for you. And

* The writer of this letter is a former student of Wisconsin and Columbia Universities, and is now a lecturer in Peking University and in Peking Law College.

for this you let me have your railways and industries, and to manage your house." Why not come straightly and squarely to murder us, then so cunningly and crookedly? Yet, we as a people have never offended them, but we are made the spoils of war. Have you read a recent article in New York *Times* or *Herald* on the partitioning of China?

The foreigners in China have been selfish, mean, aggressive, cunning, and using the

words of Christ for evil purposes. They have been utterly poor, and yet they pretended to be very rich. Their banks in China are living on Chinese loans to them * * * You do not even have the slight idea about the foreigners here; if you do, you would be ashamed of them. They are the suckers; and China is the sour lemon.

C. T. LIANG.

Peitaiho, China, September 4, 1919.

BOOK REVIEW

A GENTLE CYNIC. Being a translation of the Book of Koheleth, commonly known as Ecclesiastes, stripped of later additions; also its origin, growth and interpretation. By Morris Jastrow, Jr. J. B. Lippincott Co. Pp. 255.

Professor Jastrow has written a popular commentary on this "most charming" and "intensely human" book of the Old Testament. He sees in the anonymous author of Koheleth a man "who loves life and has intense sympathy with the struggles and sufferings of humanity," but who smiles at reformers with a tolerant cynicism, and never, in the midst of the fullest enjoyment of life, allows the irony of life to escape his thought. The last word is always—Vanity. Koheleth's scepticism is not truculent and aggressive. He is among the prophets and theologians of Judaism like Anatole France among the missionaries and exegetes of to-day—dismissing the whole laborious structure of theodicy by the *non liquet* in rejoinder to its prime premises.

In an "introduction" covering over three-fourths of the book, Professor Jastrow discusses (often with unnecessary repetitions) the authorship of Koheleth, its place in the sacred canon, and the views of the "gentle cynic" on labor, politics, religion, wealth, women and pleasure. There follows a translation of the book, with critical notes justifying Professor Jastrow's reconstruction of the text. And, finally, there is an appendix containing the additions to the book by "pious commentators," by proverb mongers, and by miscellaneous glossators. This arrangement offers the author the temptation, too little resisted, to tautology. We meet the same reflections in the introduction, in the

notes to the text, and in the discussion of the glosses in the appendix. For example, the interpretation of the famous passage on the "golden bowl" and the "silver cord" appears at least three times in different parts of the book. Professor Jastrow could easily have put what he has to say in half the number of pages. Even though the book is confessedly for "popular" use, its intelligibility is not helped by diffuseness.

Professor Jastrow eliminates over 60 of the 222 verses of Koheleth as additions by pious commentators to make the book appear orthodox, and proverbs inserted by a nimble-minded scribe. While making no pretensions to criticise the scientific method of so distinguished an exegete as Professor Jastrow, we may still wonder whether it is quite safe to employ so subjective a standard as he does in eliminating verses which he regards as either "manifestly inconsistent" with other utterances of Koheleth or "interruptions" of the context (p. 79). A "gentle cynic" is generally not much disturbed by either inconsistencies or interruptions. We might question, too, the statement (p. 114) that the motive of the men who determined the canon of the Old Testament was to "preserve what was *best* in the literary legacy of the past."

But this is only by the way. The upshot of Professor Jastrow's study, namely that Koheleth has been perverted from its true character in being made safe for orthodoxy by the pious interpolators, will readily commend itself to all his readers. The book is written in a genial temper throughout, and is a valuable contribution to the popularization of Biblical criticism.

D. S. M.

MEN'S THOUGHTS ABOUT GOD*

BY FELIX ADLER

ONE of the valuable teachings of psychology is the art of self-management with a view to remaining always the captain of one's soul. This is especially difficult in times of great emotional perturbation. In serious sickness, when the life of some dearly beloved person is in peril; in the forecast of impending business disaster; or in warding off unjust attacks on a fabric of character and reputation which a lifetime has been spent in building up,—how is it possible to withdraw the mind from the one preoccupying, imperative idea? We are under its uncanny spell; it will not let us go. And, being subject to it, how can we see clearly the line of action we ought to take? How can we recover our tranquil self-possession? How can we keep our hand on the rudder to steer our course amid the many perplexing alternatives that threaten to sweep us away in the current of emotion?

Psychology suggests two methods. The first is to compel the mind to turn abruptly toward some subject as remote as possible from the distressing topic, especially some dry, unemotional subject, like mathematics or logic or chemistry, to bring the needed temporary relief. It is like a drug that takes down a fever. It reduces the temperature. But it is only temporary in its effects. It does not reach the cause. The safer method and the one that produces more lasting results is to take firm hold of the nettle-pain, and crush it till its power to hurt ceases; or, speaking without metaphor, to resolutely focus attention upon the thing that gives the pain, and see it in due proportion and perspective. This peril of the sick pa-

tient, this libellous attack, this disappointment in love (or whatever else it may be), is an isolated occurrence in your experience. It stands out sharply. It is a shaft aimed at you personally. But the hurt is diminished when you realize that this experience, that seems so particular, is really the lot of thousands of others.

Yet whatever partial relief men have found in these counsels of psychology, they have from time immemorial sought a solution for the ills and contradictions of life in religion. Ancient dreamers and mystics conceived of certain beings intermediate between God and man—demonic beings, super-intelligences but not supreme intelligences. Modern civilization has reduced the many gods to one. But still the problem persists, if the one God is omnipotent and all-good, of reconciling with such a God cosmic pain and imperfection.

Two recent attempts to define a God who shall satisfy the modern mind may be noticed briefly. Mr. Wells, in his *God the Invisible King*, presents a new idea of God with the feature of eternity left out. The new God of Mr. Wells was born. He began at a certain time, although paradoxically it is said that he will not die. But that is self-contradictory; a God that is not eternal is not God. A God that is born will die. Whatsoever begins will sometime cease. The world as seen in Nature is the scene of ceaseless change. Nothing is permanent, said a poet, save the law of impermanence. Hence, to begin with, Wells' philosophy is unsound, since whatever is the product of change becomes inevitably the prey of change.

In the next place, Mr. Wells' God is not really the God of the heavens and the earth. We cannot know about a God in the heavens; still we must have

* An address delivered before the New York Society for Ethical Culture, Sunday, November 4, 1918.

the phantom outrider of Wells, galloping at the head of the human host through the shadows. I do not believe in Reeman's impotent God, struggling through the jostling forces to understand himself. I do not believe that the tent of perfection will ever be pitched on any hill,—call it Zion or by any other name,—upon this earth. I do not believe, if I must modify my own earlier millennialism, that the City of Light will ever enshrine the final reign of right. I believe that the city of man will become, must become, more and ever more the City of Light, that its shining ramparts shall more and more mirror the eternal pattern; but I do not believe that the miracle of transformation will ever be wholly consummated in the finite realm.

Infinite perfection is beyond the spheres, inaccessible to human vision, barely to be divined by the human soul in its aspirations. To that infinite world what we call the essential self, the spiritual self of each of us, belongs. The impulse to transform evil into good comes thence. In the degree that we yield to this urge in us we gain the conviction that we are spiritual beings. The spiritual impulse is the evidence and witness of our spiritual nature. And the prize we wrest from life, the equivalent for all that we must endure, for our shortcomings and our sufferings, is just the discovery of what is called the spiritual nature, and with it the discovery of God,—for Godhead is the infinite society of souls. We are not to think of ourselves as outside of God, created by God; we are members of the Godhead, integral components of that harmonious system of interacting lives, to which the name of the Perfect Life alone belongs.

My view of the destiny of the human race is precisely the same as my view of the destiny of an individual's terrestrial existence. Half of his life he is

bound in sleep. During childhood his faculties are immature and ineffective. In extreme old age night steals upon his eyelids and his faculties are enfeebled. There are a certain few years in which he is at his height. During these years it behooves him to set free the channels in his nature through which pours the stream of spiritual energy. The human race is, as it were, an enlarged individual. It too has had its childhood. It will have its middle years. It is very probable that it will have its period of decline. There is no reason to believe that the species is immortal. In all likelihood it will die. And the object of its existence is that it may have in larger measure than I its moments of exaltation, that then it may touch glory, that the light of divine wisdom and insight into the eternal values may then be showered upon it and vouchsafed to it.

It is with such conceptions as these that I face the events of the day and of the future which looms beyond. I do not believe that justice will be effectuated at the peace table. I do not believe that the gates of the millenium are about to be thrown open. I see strange forms of evil raising their heads in our own country, sinister forces asserting themselves, class greeds and national egotisms stepping into the open, as this war ends and the curtain rises on a new stage setting. I am not dismayed in my faith by these appearances. My faith is not bound by the consideration of proximate results, or of any results. Evil exists in order that it may be dominated, transmuted. I am a son of light in so far as any mortal being can be, in proportion as I spend my strength in this task of transmutation. The energy I put forth is the expression of my veriest selfhood. I ask not what will come of it. In it I live and have my being.

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TAKING SIDES

WE consider it no part of the function of an Ethical Society to take sides on debatable moral issues. It can properly take sides only on those moral issues upon which the conscience of mankind is already made up. To this class of issues belong, for example, the right of the single standard to prevail over the double standard in the relations of the sexes, the duty of humaneness in the treatment of animals, the obligation to act justly and honestly in commercial transactions. Upon all such issues there is now general agreement among civilized people everywhere and it is part of the business of an Ethical Society to encourage the ever wider application of these forms of accepted right conduct.

Over against the moral issues upon which an undivided conscience has been reached are those concerning the righteousness of which men are not yet agreed, and upon all such an Ethical Society cannot take sides without instantly forfeiting the priceless freedom of its fellowship. Examples of such open moral issues on which the agreement of civilized peoples has not yet been reached are: compulsory military training in the schools, socialism, vivisection, the granting of amnesty to political offenders, the presence of Japan in Shantung, the ethics of the proposed League of Nations. Upon none of these issues has the conscience of mankind taken a unanimous stand

and hence an Ethical Society cannot take sides on any one of them. Were an Ethical Society to commit itself on any debatable moral issue it would automatically shut out from its membership those who differed in their moral judgment on the issue from the majority. Individual leaders of Ethical Societies have the right and duty to express themselves freely on all mooted moral questions; but they are pledged, in so doing, not to speak for any one but themselves, thereby guaranteeing the integrity of the Society as an organization which has for one of its purposes the promotion of knowledge of the Right, through free discussion upon its platform of moral questions on which all good men are not as yet agreed.

We deplore the fact that this distinctive feature of the Ethical Movement is still misconceived in quarters where we assumed it must by this time have been fully understood. We sometimes hear it said that the Ethical Movement is a flabby, invertebrate institution because it refrains from ever taking sides on the burning moral issues of the day. But were it to do so it would be false to the cardinal characteristic which distinguishes it from most religious organizations, viz., that in matters of practical action or of expediency it permits the majority to rule, but in all matters of conviction as to what is right it pays absolute respect to the position of the minority, safeguarding its freedom by refusal to

commit the Society to what the majority believes to be the right.

A higher task than that of taking sides on disputed issues devolves upon an Ethical Society. It is the task of facing the issue in order to elucidate the modicum of right that lies with those whom the majority believe to be altogether wrong. For never is all the right on one side and all the wrong on the other. The history of great moral issues on which good men were divided has fully vindicated the correctness of this contention. And by as much as our grasp of the Complete Right is an ideal still far beyond us, awaiting realization, an Ethical Society has a worthier task on its hands than that of taking sides,—it is the task of helping to bring to light knowledge of the Complete Right. To that higher and more difficult task let our Ethical Societies, in these troubled days, consecrate themselves anew in order that the primary purpose of the Movement may be the more fulfilled advancement in knowledge of the Right.

A. W. M.

PAGEANTRY ON THE SCREEN

A GRAND RAPIDS lady, Mrs. James Flaherty, has started a movement which may have extraordinary significance both for communal pageantry and the "movies." With the cordial approval of many leading public officials and citizens, she is endeavoring to create a State-wide willingness to stage a moving picture pageant depicting the history of Michigan. Out of an intimate knowledge of the historic material, she has constructed a draft scenario. What is now needed is a public interest which will ensure the thousands of volunteers needed to enact the pageant, and the funds to pay the cost. Experts in scenario adapta-

tion, in pageant construction, costuming and marshaling, and in the camera work involved, must of course spend many months on the job; though there would not seem to be any reason why such a scheme should be any more prohibitive in expense than any of the ambitious pageants already staged in this country, without thought of their perpetuation by means of the moving picture reel.

The possibilities of the scheme almost flood one's imagination. Instead of a couple of thousand executants, as many thousands as the State finds willing to pay for a costume and get into the local marching line; instead of the great vistas only, intimate touches, outdoor or indoor, of local life and local historic happening or legend. And, instead of a week's performances in some one spot, a film that can be shown to audiences in the remotest corners of the State, and for generations to come—for a century's return instead of a week's in gate-money,—yet subject to change, to re-editing, to the continued impact of the public mind in suggesting, perhaps even contributing from time to time, new and finer enactments of this or that incident of the play. Here would be "community movies" in a new and wonderful sense.

Further, let us imagine each of the forty-eight States of the Union catching the greatness of the idea, and, over a period of several years of patient research, public discussion, preparation, and production, turning out a "movie" pageant of its own history and intimate peculiarities and associations. What an adjunct to the history teaching of the public schools! What a chance for a repertory theatre in every great centre of population, with forty-eight pageants of the nation's life as a first installment of real repertory art in this medium!

Here is the true chance for Mr. Griffith. He is one of the great artists of America—and an artist in America's most prevalent art. But for years his work, however fine in production, has been generally feeble and catchpenny in story, in sentiment, in comment on life; of slight consequence as compared with *The Birth of a Nation*. Let the State of Michigan, or some group of States, buy up Mr. Griffith's brains for a period of years to come, and turn him loose with a mandate to organize the imaginative forces of each State concerned, planning pageants and enacting them—with no limit to the number of citizens who shall be induced to co-operate in this art effort, with payment or without it, from searching the pages of history to carrying a banner or waving a hand.

G. E. O'D.

ON ACCEPTING THE UNIVERSE

IT is told of Margaret Fuller, the temperamental transcendentalist who enlivened Boston in its halcyon days, that she once enthusiastically exclaimed: "I accept the universe." To which Emerson laconically made answer: "She'd better."

But why? To us it would appear that it matters not so much whether we accept the universe or not, as how we accept it and for what ends. To accept it as is, to indulge in pious pleasantries anent "the best of all possible worlds" is not particularly commendable. Whatever is, is not thereby right, and to "accept" uncritically is to connive at wrong.

Nor is it sufficient to accept what is agreeable and to reject the rest. Thus to flee from evil to more con-

genial realms where one may linger in gentle contemplation of some luxurious Utopia, is to erect a premature paradise on uncertain sands.

Accept the universe; yes, and what is evil in it first of all. But not as final. Rather as an opposing force which is to be courageously faced, and by the use of which we may ascend to a *more* acceptable universe.

J. G.

THE GEORGE ELIOT CENTENNIAL

IS it because the present year has been so rich in centennial commemorations that so little attention has been paid to the one which falls toward the close of the year—that of George Eliot, whose birthday is November 22nd? One can understand that little should have been made of the centennial of Arthur Hugh Clough, or even of Charles Kingsley; but with George Eliot it is different. She has an established place in the memory of all readers of fiction of the older generation. Her influence has been much wider and more popular than that of the two writers already mentioned,—indeed one would venture to say than that of the other three famous men whose centennial has been celebrated during the present year,—Ruskin, Whitman and Lowell.

Librarians tell us that the dust has been gathering thick on the volumes of George Eliot. Is this neglect indicative of a merely passing forgetfulness? In any case, the influence exercised by this great woman and her novels has been so large and so beneficent that it is a great pity that she should not be adequately honored.

P. C.

HOW TO LIVE WITH UNCONGENIAL PEOPLE*

BY DANIEL ROY FREEMAN

THERE is a poet-philosopher living in some high, quiet tower within each of us, able to view the changing scene of the world without passion and to receive instruction and refinement of nature from contemplation. To this being, nothing appears more odd than the disaffections amongst the children of men. In his eyes it seems natural that everyone should feel such a weird sense of companionship with everyone else with whom he shares life in this quaint world that even incipient ill-will would be overwhelmed by a flooding realization of copartnership in ontological mystery and possible spiritual interaction.

We discover ourselves to be this pure sage, however, if we learn the truth at all, only after attaining to a certain maturity. On the ordinary levels of experience uncongenialities of various grades and intensities seek to make their claim upon us. We are like bees buzzing about amongst varicolored and diversely nectared blossoms. We inwardly tend to fly towards some and away from others. Though we may never reach quite to the point of falling in hate with such and such a one at first sight, we may none the less perceive between him and us sundry signs of unwilling variance and perhaps of antipathy. Towards others we are favorably disposed from the beginning.

It would be interesting to ask what is this "beginning;" to inquire into what soil of personal or racial history the roots of particular attractions or repulsions descend; to explore the subterranean unconscious

repressions and convulsions which give form and structure to surface experiences. Our especial concern in this address, however, is neither with the origin of this grade and type of feelings nor with the feelings themselves. They occasion in us a certain social comfortableness or uneasiness, to be sure. We are superficially pleased when we find our kind of people and incline to think that we might dispense with the rest. But these minor and juvenile likes and dislikes are the merest raw material of ethical culture. They may have more of aesthetics than of ethics in them. How we shall live with those people whose uncongeniality to us consists simply in offending our taste, each of us may determine with what sense, manners and humor he can muster.

Ethical disharmonies, however, present a different problem. The spiritual relationship of a man with his fellow men has a far other quality than that of these temperamental gusts. Clashing ideals diverse standards, incompatible aims call for something more than the toning down of prejudices. They raise the question as to how we shall feel and behave towards persons with whom we seriously disagree. What shall be our attitude towards those of whom we disapprove? How shall we act towards persons, perhaps in our family, with whose ways and thoughts we find ourselves habitually out of accord? What shall be our relationship to an environment unfriendly to our most central aims?

These questions fall into two classes and present two somewhat distinct sets of problems. The first has to do with our more private,

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domestic and personal relations; the second involves those difficulties which beset us in our public connections. The one finds us at home. The other meets us abroad. We may almost say that the one demands, "How shall we live with our uncongenial friends?" and the other, "How shall we live with uncongenial enemies?"

The *equus docilis*, the domesticated horse, has been scarcely less necessary to mankind than the scapegoat. Indeed, in a country where meat was scarce, scapegoats were driven into the wilderness. Their psychological worth was estimated higher than their food value. We have grown too thrifty to waste good flesh in this crude fashion. We have found a simpler way which both frees our conscience and saves our dinner. We take words for scapegoats instead of quadrupeds.

Nowhere is this tendency to cause words to bear away our responsibility more clearly displayed than in our use of "uncongeniality" in regard to domestic relationships. Rather than penetrating to the causes of disharmony to deal with them and remove them, we are inclined to postulate uncongeniality and dismiss the obligation. Now true and final uncongeniality does sometimes exist within households and should then be faced, but much that goes under the name is not uncongeniality at all. In some cases those things which are set down to the charge of uncongeniality are nothing more than the normal difficulties which grow out of homes being made up of persons of all ages. This fact furnishes variety and diverse joys, to be sure, but it creates its own necessities for adjustment. Children do not always see the logic of either the silences or the speech of their parents. The ways of their elders are mysterious. Ten years old notoriously fails to accord the dignity of seventeen its

due. Fifty is prone to be impatient of thirty. Adolescence is full of its fantasies and its revelations, its risings and sinkings, its starts and conversions. It both craves and rejects sympathy. It finds it hard to orientate itself in the world. And the effort is a strain, also, upon the world. The position of the ageing one who is not learning to walk but learning not to walk, who is gradually withdrawing from affairs and responsibility, who is becoming dispensable, is full of delicacy. Every period in life is thus fruitful in problems of its own and all are thrust into daily intimacy to harmonize their interests as best they may. A certain amount of criss-cross, therefore, would be more surprising in its absence than it is in its presence.

Further seeming uncongenialities, also, especially amongst the grown-up members of the family, may have their basis not in serious ethical lacks in any of the parties to it, nor even in temperamental incompatibility. They may have their roots rather in the very nature of civilized life itself. For everyone, and particularly the most highly organized man and woman, bears within himself, together with his ripened aspirations, not only his own infancy and adolescence but also the rude and imperious turmoils and the strong and pushing instincts of his entire ascending biological line. The charioteer, the soul, has not only two steeds to guide, as in Plato's parable, but a whole stamping, champing herd. Emerson felt a thousand needs of spirit to which Caliban was a stranger. Caliban, however, knew no appetite which was not embedded in the nature of Emerson. It is no slight undertaking for one to overcome one's inner anarchy, adopt a constitution and live at peace with oneself.

The various instincts, renowned

for blindness, drive their course in all men, supplying, it is true, the content to experience, but requiring, in civilized life, a prodigious amount of discipline. And the very process of spiritualizing them and bringing them into the service of the conscious person not infrequently leads to inner confusion and domestic trouble. Instinctive desires that are tamed and whose expression is limited, directed and sometimes repressed in the interest, let us say, of a late marriage and a monogamous standard of life, submit to repression, to be sure, but they no sooner dive out of sight into the unconscious realms of the mind than they plot to revenge themselves against their governor. The repressed hungers are as clever as the alleged devil, and as industrious. They work day and night, and always in disguise. In the day they cloud the spirit with vague fears or compulsions which do not reveal their true origin. At night they parody themselves in dreams. In extreme cases they masquerade as all manner of physical and psychical symptoms.

Repressions of childhood or youth may thus issue in a transferred sense of guilt, or in morbid and irrational dread. Not infrequently a feeling of ill-defined shrinking from life, for which one can assign no adequate cause, results in exaggerated self-justification and makes extravagant demands for commendation and attention. If this seems to be in any measure lacking in the attitude of one's family towards one, even though it may be in fact not wanting, one tends to regard these intimates as inconsiderate and hard. That which has the appearance of uncongeniality, therefore, may represent no real divergence of natures or of ideals between two people, but rather a misjudgment due to inner conflict and distorted vision. It is an old saying that there cannot be unity in two

unless there is unity in one. The discord which seems to be without may be within. The question as to how to live with uncongenial people often resolves itself into the question as to how one shall live with oneself.

It is wholesome for everyone to realize that a certain measure of conflict is taking place in others, even in his most intimate associates, as well as in himself. Every civilized household, and particularly a family of sensitized, ethically-minded persons, governed by refined standards, is a company of spiritual warriors. It is hard to predict at what moment one or another may be engaged in severe combat with foes who fight in the dark. A degree of strangeness, therefore, perhaps of morbid irritability, a touch of madness, appearing in anyone ought not to frighten himself or his companions into an assumption of uncongeniality. The rather should it, in the most of cases, incite them all to mutual support. And they should realize how magnificent is the human achievement when anyone in the midst of his own task and conflict, his own perturbations, partial successes, questionings, clarifications of issues, siftings of ideals, progress towards self-knowledge and self-government, matches evenly in basic joy and helpfulness with others who are in a like case.

Though one may attempt, in never so fine a temper, however, to live sanely in the home, not all the other members of the household may be able or willing to join in the enterprise. A true home, like a proper society, is a contrapuntal system, each melody a distinct musical entity, yet all organized into a fuller harmonic unit. But there may be one or more voices that insist on singing erratically or in anarchic formlessness. They create no consistent melody of their own nor will they relate their private, scattered

notes to the general system. What ought to be one's attitude towards these persons who, despite our best efforts, remain unco-operative? How shall we live with people in the home whose uncongeniality cannot be overcome?

It is hard to set forth general precepts in this matter because every case appears poignantly concrete. Each seems to have its peculiar complications. One is tempted to say that the rule is that there is no rule. This, however, would be a too quick surrender. The Stoics used to say that no situation can arise in which a man cannot display the spirit of man. And Jesus declared that the spirit of a man consists in a special sort of love towards all one's fellow men, including one's definite and choice enemies. Perhaps by summoning the best experience of other times and persons and by patiently brooding over the matter ourselves we may find something to think and something to do concerning homelike and tenacious uncongenialities.

It may seem that enough has already been said concerning the propriety of one's own assumption of responsibility for existing uncongenialities. Self-examination should, however, I think, be pressed even one step farther still. The advice of Confucius to governors, that when they discovered evil in their provinces they should take themselves to task, is difficult to overdo. In the very question, "How shall we act towards persons who are persistently and wilfully uncongenial," there lurks a danger. It is the snare which entangles the honest zealot. Possibly that uncongeniality to which we seem to be the wholly innocent party may grow out of our wrong conception of the proper relation of person to person. The strong-minded parent, conscientious in the extreme, may sincerely suppose that his son introduces uncongeniality into an otherwise harmon-

ious household by his rebellious temper, whereas that which the father regards as insubordination in his son may be nothing more than a weapon of self-defense for the preservation of his serious convictions. It is difficult for one to recognize the tyranny of one's own honest orthodoxies, because one knows that they are purely held. One hopes to save the world by them even at the cost of sacrifice or martyrdom. It is peculiarly baffling and annoying, therefore, to discover that members of one's very household are determined to save themselves in some other way. Hence it behooves us to ask whether or not our domestic uncongenialities rest upon any unwillingness on our part to grant full autonomy to the other members of the family. That is not true harmony which is won by a sentimental ignoring of differences in personality and point of view or by weak capitulation to one dominating mind. We may well ask if that which we mean by a congenial household is one that takes its cue from us.

Let us suppose, however, that we have avoided this pitfall of bigotry, that we have a proper ideal of a community of ethically endowed persons mutually supplementing and stimulating one another and that we have sought to live by this faith. Indeed let us assume for the moment that our attitude and our practice have been without blemish and that nevertheless others continue invasive, selfish, callous, irresponsible, trifling, impure, and generally unethical. How should we feel and act towards those whom our judgment disapproves?

The counsel of perfection is to love them and to seek to be of the highest service to them as potential spiritual beings. *Hic labor, hoc opus est*, however. This is labor, this is work, as Vergil said of the ascent from Avernus. There may be those who feel themselves unequal to the attain-

ment of such heights of disinterested goodwill. Possible attitudes towards the offending person exist, not so exacting as this, which one may entertain as steps in progress towards the highest. We may, for instance, look upon the uncongenial one with the calm curiosity of science. This at once transforms him from a personal problem into an objective phenomenon. He is a fact to be studied, classified and so far as possible explained. If he were eliminated the universe would be made to that extent poorer as a subject of investigation. Scientists have distinguished a thousand varieties of crabs. The discovery of each new sort has yielded a certain pleasure, not exactly social or personal, but intellectual. Uncongenial persons, thus, may be made to satisfy our instinct of inquisitiveness. They cannot avoid adding to our stock of information, if we wish to study them. When we view them in this light we begin to cure the fever of diseased personal relationship.

Through this scientific attitude we may advance to the Chestertonian temper. Family life to Gilbert K. Chesterton is an adventure. Uncongenial persons are in the nature of savage tribes not wholly explored. The excitement of the unexpected is as inviting to him as the satisfaction of personal likes. It is always possible that the uncongenial one may disclose some fresh freak of unpleasantness tomorrow, or even today. How grateful we should feel every morning and how eager to waken upon a domestic circle in which one is almost certain not to be bored.

One who has attained to such a state of mind may perhaps move to a further stage. When Socrates was asked by a pupil how he avoided anger and resentment upon a certain occasion when he had been illtreated and abused in public by an arrogant

Athenian, he replied by asking if the young man felt piqued at the sight of one who was deformed in body. "No," said the youth. "How much less," said Socrates, "should we feel anger against one who has a hump on his mind!" It is useful for us to remember that those who persist in unworthy courses reveal their own ethical lacks. They are unfortunates. They call forth the sympathy rather than the enmity of discerning persons. They arouse grief in us and bestir us to puzzling queries as to the nature and origin of ill-will, perhaps, but they cannot betray us into petty, bickering ire if we have it in us to reply, "Yes," to Shakespeare's question, "Hast any philosophy in thee, shepherd?"

These several attitudes and more besides may help us to answer the fool not according to his folly. They may keep us from the common error of taking our spiritual tone from the uncongenial person. They are hardly sufficient, however, to meet the severest needs. They would not enable a parent to solve the problem of his rightful relationship to a son who had injured or wrecked his career and brought public disgrace upon his family by vicious courses. They furnish an inadequate principle of conduct to guide children who come to irreconcilable antagonism with their parents over social and religious ideals of life. In short they are good armor only if they are kept out of the hottest battles. In mortal conflict some better tempered plate is needed. What should one's attitude be towards uncongenial household companions when the uncongeniality rises to the highest pitch?

Here nothing can avail *but* love.

It seems a paradox that in the very situation in which love appears to be most impossible, there it should be most required. The love which is demanded, however, is not ordinary love. It is not that love which feeds

upon personal attractiveness in its object. Indeed it is not personal love in the usual sense, at all. It is called forth not by what it sees but by what it does not see. It gives its allegiance not to the empirical creature which the offender to all appearance is, but rather to his still unrevealed or only imperfectly disclosed self. It seeks to enter into partnership with his transcendental, numenal, spiritual, ethical self to defeat the pretensions of his wild or sluggish, his unawakened, self.

Such love is possible only to one who has penetrated beneath the surface meanings of life. To the naive beginner in social experience nothing would appear more preposterous than that he could ever love everyone. It is not only that there are so many persons who are uninteresting, but there are such numbers who are ready to overreach one, to trample upon one as mere material, in order to accomplish their private and perhaps low aims. There is so much alloy even in leading personages. Universal love seems a fatuous dream, unless one is to become wholly indiscriminating.

Then in some living hour the youthful soul comes of age. He discovers in himself the meaning of all so-called crimes, and of all holiness of all times. He knows that there is no one to whom he is not related and that all are subject to death. Thenceforth he sees life with new eyes. He finds it difficult to put into words that which has occurred within him. He may say in the familiar figure that he has been born again. Or he may use the metaphor of Paul, declaring that he has been crucified and has died and has risen, a new being. Or he may employ an analogy from the realm of sight and testify that his soul has been visited by a flood of light. He has been illuminated. Enlightenment has come. His eyes have been opened. He sees

that to which he before had been blind. Or again he speaks of himself as having been initiated into a mystery. Perhaps he calls the change conversion. Aristotle speaks of the experience as having a presentiment.

The outcome of the spiritual event, by whatever name it may be called, is the conviction that one's essential self is beyond all words precious, susceptible of incalculable development and refinement, and capable of quickening into life the true selves of one's fellow men, who are all similarly constituted, however dull or gross we or others may appear to be. In the words of Aristotle, "We have a presentiment that the Good must be something that is a man's very own." The consciousness of unique worth comes with a sense of revelation. Those who experience it feel themselves to be "Illuminati," and desire nothing so much as that all men should become thus enlightened.

The love which belongs to this experience is not a soft and yielding emotion based on an instinctive attraction. It is a well-considered attitude growing out of mature knowledge and a hard-won philosophy of life. It is a love which embraces even uncongenial persons. It is that of which Jesus spoke as love of one's enemies. On this level of life enemies are unthinkable. However much one may strive to be my enemy, he cannot become one in fact so long as I persist in seeking in him something deeper than his enmity and in trying to bring it to life by my brooding love. One has not learned the art of living with uncongenial people until one has been born into this spiritual attitude towards them.

The attainment of this attitude, however, is not enough. It is indispensable, but to it must be added wisdom. In order to become effective, love must be administered with limitless tact, reserve and courage. This mysteriously hard tenderness,

this unrelenting solicitude must be applied with an infinitely skilful hand. For true love, by no means dictates an indiscriminating compliance with the wishes of its object. Those wishes may be unworthy of him. The parents whose son has sown the wind and is reaping the whirlwind, if they love him rightly, will suffer with him. They will not seek to deprive him of the discipline of pain. The child whose parents would fasten upon his mind the chains of an authoritarian system and endeavor to enforce their restrictive views by their parental prerogatives must, for very love of them, not permit them to play the part of father and mother so ill. He must have a higher ideal for them than they have for themselves, and must refuse to be *particeps criminis* with them.

The precise when, where and how one shall meet definite instances of uncongeniality, no one can say for another. The spirit in which we approach every case may be that of reverent service of the spiritual nature of whose presence in ourselves we have received clear hints and whose existence in others we cannot doubt.

In the general relationships of life outside the home there are all shadings of uncongeniality from fantastic prejudices to moral condemnation. They demand special and detailed consideration, which I cannot give them here. I know of no better spirit in which to deal with them than that of which I have spoken.

We should, perhaps, not be surprised that so many and such bitter disaffections make themselves manifest on all hands when we recollect how little of the mental energy of mankind is devoted to creating a science and an art of living. In the midst of national wars, class war and social strife how many persons are trying sincerely to understand the others' nature, background, motives and point of view. We must be fair

towards others, assuring ourselves that we honestly desire to be just with them. We must go farther. We must examine our standard of justice in the light of theirs. The master often thought that he was just to his slave. And he was, according to the system of slavery. But the slave felt a rankling resentment against the institution out of which those standards of justice grew. We must be ready to put ourselves completely in the position of the other person. Not that we will necessarily yield assent to his opinions, but that we will sincerely try to understand them and weigh them on their merits. This is a preliminary to every congenial relationship. We devote very little thought to breaking down the barriers which divide us from others. To scarcely any one are those who walk beside him on the sidewalk, those who buy from him or sell to him, those who work with him, real persons with hopes and fears, interests, ideas and affections. How seldom does any one look with speculative inquiry into the eyes of a passer-by. Those whom we know better we know often none too well. A thousand things concern us more than the living creatures who throng about us. A difference of language or even of dialect, an unfamiliarity of manners, a foreign habit of thought, an alien complexion frightens human souls from one another. There are all about us, hidden beneath a forbidding exterior, mines of spiritual personality.

Man's unhappiness in the midst of his coldness signifies that, difficult as satisfying relationships are to form, mankind is companionable in the highest sense, by nature, and can be blessed with no lesser good. Despite temporary failure we should persist in our efforts to overcome uncongeniality, knowing that he who baffles our endeavors needs our true selves as surely as we need him.

AN ANCIENT ETHICAL SOCIETY.

BY JAMES GUTMANN

THE story of Empedocles on Etna is familiar. We know how the Sicilian sage, coveting a reputation for supernatural power, sought to persuade the world that he had been summoned to heaven by throwing himself into the crater of the volcano. His body was consumed, but the next eruption brought forth his bronze sandals and thus betrayed his act. Pythagoras, pioneer mathematician and founder of what we may consider the earliest "ethical society," plunged into a crater far deeper than Etna and one less likely to reveal its content. He has indeed attained an aura of supernaturalism, not so much by any action of his own as by the fact that his name has become inextricably involved in fable and legend. As a result we have, in place of an adequate biography, a Pythagorean myth. But this crater too has cast forth sandals, and we have a few essential facts concerning Pythagoras, enough to construct an account of his life, his doctrines and the society which he founded.

I

Pythagoras was born in Samos sometime in the sixth century before the beginning of the present era. Thus he belongs to a remote antiquity, an antiquity which even to such ancients as Plato and Aristotle seemed a fairly distant past. It is said that he was impelled to leave his native home because he disliked the tyrannic rule of Polykrates, and that after extensive travel he settled in Italy. How much faith we can put in such an account is, of course, uncertain—but it serves to explain his appearance on the Italic peninsula. And for us that is im-

portant, for it was there that he established a series of secret lodges or *συνέδρια*, a religious brotherhood which aimed at the moral reformation of society.

This ancient ethical organization combined the various interests and enthusiasms which have been attributed to Pythagoras himself. Thus they stimulated at once an elaborate mystic ceremonial and an intensive scientific interest. How these rather conflicting purposes were harmonized we shall seek to discover presently; for the moment it will be well to relate those few facts concerning the Pythagorean societies which have come down to us.

The order extended its influence throughout Lower Italy, its center being in the town of Crotona. The exact membership we do not know but it must have been numerous, and it is extremely interesting to note that it included men and women on equal terms. It appears that the members lived together under a strict rule, having all their property in common and leading a life of extreme simplicity. Some of the details of the rule established by Pythagoras, we shall revert to later on; it had reference to the intimate personal life as well as to ceremonies and scientific study. But it is clear that an ethical reform of this sort entailed serious political consequences. For it was impossible then as it would be now, to attempt to alter the individual and group life so radically without coming into conflict with generally accepted customs and institutions. The results are not surprising. The fellowship was at first looked on with contempt which presently gave way to resentment.

Natural suspicion was easily fostered by a dislike for the rigid principles and somewhat pedantic doctrines of the sect. In any event rumor has it that late in the fifth century B. C. (approximately a hundred years after Pythagoras had organized the society) the neighboring Italians decided on vigorous measures. They had apparently had enough of these fanatics who told them not to eat beans and forbade them to whip their dogs because the animals' howls sounded like the voices of departed friends. They rose against them, burned their homes and dispersed the members, and thus put an end to the society though its doctrines persisted long thereafter.

II

And what were these doctrines which so strangely united mysticism and mathematics? The union, as a matter of fact, is not as unusual an alliance as might at first appear. For there is in the realm of number and numerical relations a definiteness and brilliant precision which are extremely attractive to the mystic who yearns for that very certainty and clarity. Its absence repels him in the life of every day and impels him to seek it elsewhere.

In mathematics one gains that conviction of truth and finality which is the aim of all knowledge but to which few attain. In it order and fixity reach their fullest expression, and order and permanence had a powerful attraction for the Greek mind. To the Greek, chaos and cosmos did not mean merely order and disorder—they meant almost good and bad. Permanence seemed to them an altogether natural ideal, an ideal which it is difficult for us to appreciate in this age of evolutionism, when progress is, as it were, thought to be the order of the day. But though it is difficult for us to accept in full this ideal of perma-

nence we can realize its importance. And especially we can understand some of the results of the application of mathematical thought to life.

Consider its results in music, an art dear to the heart of every mystic and especially important in the ceremonies of the Pythagoreans. That the laws of harmonics are based on definite numerical ratios was first observed by Pythagoras, by moving the bridge on the monochord sounding board of a lyre. This led him to relate musical harmony to the mathematical mean or temperance. Music could then be used to purge the soul even as medicine was employed to purge and bring temperance to the body. (The fact that the word "tonic" has retained meaning in medicine as in music is seen to be more than an accident.)

The harmony for which the musician strives was to be discovered in other fields also, wherever there was perfect adjustment based on mathematical principles. Of this a striking example is the movement of the heavenly bodies; in this sense the "music of the spheres" is more than an astronomical metaphor and the ideal of harmony receives celestial sanction.

But more important to us than the Pythagorean insistence on the essential significance of mathematics with its application to such diverse interests as music, medicine and astronomy, are the ethical principles and ideals which were also derived from these doctrines. For important as harmony and temperance are in the three above mentioned sciences, their significance is for us enhanced a thousandfold by their application to human relations.

III

Pythagoras sought to bring into concerns of human conduct that same certainty, law and order which, as we have seen, typify the realm of mathe-

matics. We observe this in such maxims as "Justice is a square," and though that thought seems ludicrous, we retain this ancient pun when we speak of a "right angle."

But we are little interested in the formal application of numerical terms to ethical concepts. Rather we are concerned with Pythagoras' attempt to introduce into human conduct the law and order which he had found admirable in mathematics, and which were to yield genuine harmony. Here indeed is Pythagoras' signal and for us most valuable contribution.

Respect for law and order is the essence of his teaching. Lack of order seemed to him the worst evil conceivable; the human race could not exist without law. Thus it became necessary to formulate an elaborate code of moral precepts having reference to every aspect of life. Important matters such as gratitude to parents, reverence for the aged, obedience to law were embraced in these rules, and they also included specific commands concerning more trivial matters such as dietary regulations.

But respect for law was not an end in itself. Self-control, moderation, resignation to fate—these are the touchstones to the Pythagorean rules. And these in turn were intended to secure a well-balanced, orderly life. "Nothing in excess"—hear Pythagoras the Greek speak! He rejected all superfluity saying that "none ought to exceed the proper quantity of meat and drink." Similarly he enjoined silence, not for ascetic self-denial, but again in order to attain a harmonious life. The flow of words must needs be checked if human life was to know that calm and temperance which would bring it into harmony with ultimate reality.

Nor was this an ideal for the individual only. I have indicated the emphasis which was laid on the individual's relations to others and the rules which commanded respect and reverence. But again these were not ultimate but only means for the achievement of just and harmonious relations. To banish wilfulness and uncertainty and to substitute the assurance of genuine and developed personality was the end. For unless there could be introduced into human relations something of that precision and certainty which mathematics exemplified, distrust and friction would prevail, and that was intolerable. In the "harmonious equality" of friendship the Pythagoreans saw their ideal most closely approximated, and it is instructive to recall the splendid friendships which flourished in their fellowship, that of Damon and Pythias being a familiar example.

Such a relationship makes possible the realization of what is best in mankind. It has regard not for the imperfections and frailties which abound in human nature, but looks beyond to a potential excellence for inspiration. For if we are to find what we most desire for human relationships we cannot restrict ourselves exclusively to empirical man with his inevitable shortcomings, but must fix our gaze on his finer possibilities and seek to regulate our conduct accordingly. Only as we transcend the limits of worldly experience and come to regard our fellow men as associates in a more exalted communion, can we begin to realize in human relations that harmony and sense of ultimate reality at which the Pythagoreans aimed in their ancient ethical society.

WHY WE TELL STORIES TO CHILDREN*

BY SARAH M. MOTT

IN these days of unrest it is a relief to turn our attention from the insistent demand made by social conditions to the consideration of a factor which, while not immediately connected with social questions, is largely concerned with the development of social life, and is of untold value in all social intercourse. The factor which I have in mind is language in general, the fluent and effective use of the mother tongue, and story telling in particular as being one of the best ways of fostering a love of language and of acquiring facility in its use. "Tell me a story" has been the request of childhood since the cave mother recited deeds of prowess to her enraptured fire clan or the Minnesingers chanted of love to the ladies of high degree. Folk tale and fable, fairy tale and myth alike have for generations claimed audiences young and old.

It is the purpose of this article to state the educative value of story-telling, to consider the essentials of the good story and to outline, in some measure, stories which may be told to children under eight or nine years of age. Only stories to be told are considered. The related story has an advantage far beyond the read story for young children. The tone of voice and the gesture make it more dramatic than the story which is read, while the story-teller has the advantage of meeting the needs of her hearers and of emphasizing the points best suited to them.

*A résumé of a series of talks given to mothers under the auspices of the Parents and Teachers Association of the Ethical Culture School, in New York City.

Without realizing that she is laying a foundation for the appreciation of good literature, the mother begins to teach her baby "Pat-a-cake, pat-a-cake, baker's man," which mothers have sung to their children since the seventeenth century at least. "This little pig went to market," if not quite as venerable, yet has the sanction of long usage. Or perhaps in leading baby to take his first steps, the big sister may recite, "One foot up, the other foot down, and that is the way to London town." The old rhymes which keep close to the interests of the young child and sing themselves over and over as he works or plays or travels abroad into the world of nature—these should be his first stories, for many of them are not only a source of great joy but are excellent examples of the well constructed story.

Closely following rhymes come the accumulative stories such as "A kid, a kid my father bought" which is traced back to the Chaldean. Built upon this are similar stories, "The Old Woman and Her Pig," "The Gingerbread Boy," "The Pancake" and others. Claiming an equal share of enjoyment are the "Three Bears" written by Robert Southey, "The Three Little Pigs," "The Billy Goats Gruff," "The Foolish Timid Rabbitt" and the like.

What are the advantages of classical stories of this type for children under six years of age? Well, first of all, they have charm, that invisible, indescribable something which keeps them ever young as the world grows older; second, they never fail to interest the child and through that interest to acquaint him with his environment, reaching from his own lit-

tle toes to places where those toes may carry him; thirdly, the rhyme and the repetition serve to "stick" in the memory and words thus learned become part of the child's vocabulary.

This matter of vocabulary should not be overlooked. While empty words are nothing as compared to ideas, still the active mind must be furnished with the tools with which to express its thoughts. We are all aware that habits of speech learned in childhood are retained through life and make or mar the adult who desires to express himself in clear and beautiful English unadulterated with foreign idiom. "Language is the material of which thought is made." Dr. Dewey in his book *How We Think* states clearly that "while language is not thought, it is necessary for thinking as well as for communication," and shows that development of language must keep pace with development of thought.

II

To the child of six and over, the fairy tale comes as a jewelled princess of light. Perhaps no more lovely story of the winter sleep of nature and her spring awakening by the sun's warm kiss has been written than that of "Briar Rose." The Greek myth of "Persephone" and the Norse myth of "Freya" also convey the same idea but in much more subtle form. Any change of season has its lore and legend. Many of our modern customs have their root in old religious observances. The annual day for remembrance of the dead has one outgrowth in Hallowe'en, the night "when fairies sport abroad." Then is the time for all the stories of witchery and magic so dear to the child. Norman Duncan's "The Woodman and the Goblins" or the old Scottish legend of "Burg's Hill is on Fire" are good ones for this holiday.

If Thanksgiving stories are told they should bring to mind not only the fact that in all lands there has been a harvest festival and that this event is notably worthy of celebration, but also that as Thanksgiving Day it is a decidedly American holiday and a fitting time to recall the virtues of those Pilgrim Fathers who stood for reverence and thankfulness and a stern sense of duty. To younger hearers only the homecoming and the dinner make a strong appeal, but to older children the double meaning of this great holiday may be made significant.

William Dean Howells' story of "The Pumpkin Glory" deserves a lasting place in literature as portraying the essence of a New England Thanksgiving dinner, while parts of Whittier's "Corn Song" and "The Huskers" give the harvest flavor. For the appreciation of the attitude of the Pilgrim Fathers and their part in establishing this as a national holiday, true stories of its history may be told.

Christmas is rich in story and legend. Here again nature and religion meet, The early Christians found that the celebration of the winter solstice had degenerated into disgusting orgies and, resolving to use the occasion for something better, selected it for Christmas Day. The beautiful stories of the "Babe of Bethlehem" should not be omitted, as they are so bound up with art as well as with literature. The simple Bible tale told by Luke is a gem of literature. Other lovely stories are Edward Hale's "The First Christmas Gifts" and Van Dyke's "The Lost Boy." The jollity of Christmas may be gained through the immortal "Visit of Saint Nicholas," "The Elves and the Shoemaker" and kindred stories. "Cinderella" is a good winter story, too, and some selections of poetry will not come amiss. "Wizard Frost," "Snowflakes" and the

"Snow Bird," by F. D. Sherman are lovely in conception and line.

So the other holidays are fraught with meaning, and interest in them is quickened by good stories. Washington and Lincoln, our national heroes, call for the true story, while spring and its mystery lends itself naturally to the myth. Stories of Apollo and Phaethon, of the birth of Venus and of Freya, speak of sunshine and flowers and the misty days of spring.

Weather rhymes learned in youth are always at hand though weather bureaus may fail in their prophecies. We all like to see "Evening red and morning grey" and know that

A sunshiny shower
Won't last half an hour.

"But," you will ask, "where is the place for modern authors? Is there no room for them?" Well, yes, but the "heir of all the ages," has a pretty big inheritance. Classic stories should be the "chief of his diet," for in them are the seeds of good taste in literature, but there will still be room for true hero stories and a sprinkling of modern literature from such writers as Kipling, Stevenson, Field, Sherman and Harris.*

III

Let us, then, concern ourselves with the essential factors of the good story. Children's literature is as wide in its scope as adult literature. For convenience, we might divide children's stories into four groups, the first to include realistic stories, mostly biographical; the second to embrace those whose leading characteristic is humor; the third, the tale of fancy, and the fourth the tale of adventure.

The realistic stories are perhaps the most difficult to handle because the arrangement of the material usually depends on the story-teller who must be an artist indeed if she

weaves the facts of the daily life of a real person into the "cloth of gold" of which stories should be made. But all life has high lights, and the life of the noted person has rather more than less of these brilliant spots which should be capitalized in the telling of a biographical story.

We must keep in mind the humorous story if we wish an all-round repertoire. Have you failed to smile with the old woman who lived under a hill and who, if not gone, lives there still; or with the cow that jumped over the moon while the dish ran away with the spoon? The surprising ending or the grotesque features of the story furnish the element of humor in these instances, while in the accumulative stories repetition has much to do with the humor of the tale.

Stories of fancy lack this touch of the grotesque but over them should wave the fairy wand of misty fancy and jewelled word. The spell of most fairy stories holds the young listener not alone by the working out of events but by the language used in describing those events. What can be lovelier than the series of events in the story of "Briar Rose" or the language used in describing them? But of these delightful old favorites many come trooping to the mind, "Cinderella," "Hansel and Gretel," "Little One Eye, Little Two Eyes, Little Three Eyes," "Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp," and ever so many more. Some modern writers have been very successful in this type of tale—Howard Pyer's "Wonder Clock" is good, and the story of "The Little Boy From Town," told by Mrs. Stawell has a deal of real charm.

Stories of adventure, in the broad sense of the word, stretch all the way from the old woman who had difficulty with her pig, down the long gallery of folk tales and hero stories, to disappear perhaps into "Wonder-

*Joel Chandler Harris ("Uncle Remus").

land" with Alice. These stories are numberless but those really worth telling and re-telling are not so numerous as to tax the powers of either teller or listener. This type of story is so much a matter of personal taste, and of response from the listener, that one may venture far afield, keeping only in mind the essentials of a good story.

It is indisputably true that taste in art of any kind is individual, but it is equally true that all good art has certain constructive principles. The introduction, the series of crises or dramatic situations, and the dénouement are all present in the good story. The language used, as Mr. Chubb points out, must tend towards the graphic, the concrete and the imaginative.

Mrs. McClintock, in *Literature in the Elementary School*,* says that stories should correspond to the needs and tastes of the children, should be largely tales of action, presenting a clear and beautiful organization, with economy of incident, and should have a satisfying and conclusive ending of the romantic sort. We must keep away from stories of the morbid type. Just as the plant needs sunshine and warmth and good food for its growth, so the child must be fed upon wholesome sentiments if a well-rounded emotional nature is to be developed. To quote Mr. Chubb,** "Too little attention has been paid to the form of the stories, to the devices of suspense, surprise, climax, and contrast. Description has been overworked." So when we wonder whether the literary food which the child desires is good for his digestion, we may choose the story that has stood the test of time; or else we must test the newer story by the principles stated for us so authoritatively by those whose judg-

ment in these matters we know to be sound.

IV

One very important point reserved for final consideration is the ethical value of story-telling. Mrs. McClintock states almost dogmatically of the good story that "it should be ethically sound." Dr. Adler has incorporated in his *Moral Instruction of Children* many stories the use of which is for the avowed purpose of furthering ethical development. There is not a person familiar with childhood who does not realize the far reaching effect of ethical instruction carried on by this means. Once having decided what habits and attitudes we wish to influence in this way, many stories come to mind. Consideration for others, whether animals or people, and unselfishness in one's treatment of them is ever a lesson to be impressed. Is there a lovelier example of consideration for our humble friends than that found in Grimm's version of "The House in the Woods"? Or if the domineering child wishes more waiting upon than is good for his development, "Lars, My Lad," a Swedish folk tale, impresses him with the idea of what service means to the one who renders it in providing for the selfish desires of others. Another Swedish tale, "The Stone Statue," is a warning against the ugly habit of quarreling with those who should be nearest in thought and interest—the members of one's own family. The child who gets up cross in the morning may laugh at the story, "What You are Doing the First Thing in the Morning, You Will be Doing All Day," but will profit by its lesson, nevertheless. Affection for brothers and sisters is brought out in the stories of "Snow White," "The Seven Dwarfs" and "The Twelve Brothers." Keeping one's promise is illustrated in the "—"

*Chapter V.

**The Teaching of English, Chapter III.

Prince" and in "Beauty and the Beast," and deceit receives its proper punishment in "The Boy Who Cried, 'Wolf.'" Dissatisfaction is well shown in "The Fisherman and His Wife," while the beauty of contentment glistens amid the leaves of "The Little Pine Tree." Bible stories, particularly those of the Old Testament, induct the child into a wonderful inheritance and impress upon him courage, reverence, and obedience to higher laws, and thus meet the needs of older children.

Why, then, do we tell stories to children? Because we like to do so, is the answer which springs most readily to the lips, for both telling and listening are sources of great

enjoyment. But the results we have a right to expect from carefully selected stories told again and again during the impressive years of childhood are, first of all, a foundation for critical appreciation of and delight in good literature, together with the ability, whether conscious or unconscious, to detect the really good from the spurious. Furthermore we may expect a broadening of interests through different types of stories and the consequent enlargement of vocabulary and appreciation of words and their meanings; and finally, a growth in ethical development through a careful selection of those stories which lead to an appreciation of right habits of living.

LINCOLN HOUSE: ITS WORK FOR COLORED AMERICANS*

BY BIRDYE H. HAYNES

THE second largest colored district in New York City, formerly known as San Juan Hill, reaches almost to the doors of the Ethical Society, and yet among the members of the Society, to say nothing of the public at large, there is probably comparatively little knowledge of the district and of the welfare work which is being carried on there. Between Fiftieth and Sixty-Seventh Streets, and from Broadway to the North River, there is a colored population of from twelve to fifteen

thousand. For the betterment of conditions in this community, neighborhood churches and welfare agencies have worked zealously for many years, the pioneer organizations being The Union Baptist Church, St. Cyprian's Mission, The Third Moravian Church, The Children's Aid Society, and Lincoln House Settlement.

It is with the work of the latter institution that I wish particularly to acquaint you. Some years ago, one of the colored nurses of the Henry Street Settlement staff, who was working in the San Juan Hill neighborhood, saw the necessity for undertaking on a larger scale social welfare work among her people living in that locality, and made recommendations which ultimately led to the establishment of Lincoln House. In the early days, the settlement, like many other similar agencies, had its period of migration: from one small store in Sixty-First Street, its work was moved to a somewhat more

*Miss Haynes, who is the headworker of Lincoln House, was asked to write this account of what her settlement is doing, not only because the work is carried on near the Meeting House of the New York Society for Ethical Culture, the members of which are becoming increasingly interested in the opportunities for service in the vicinity of the Society building; but also because the work is of more general interest, as illustrating one type of undertaking which is conducted, to a considerable extent by colored people, for their own welfare.
—Editor.

spacious one in Sixtieth Street, and finally, after joining forces with two other neighborhood organizations, the Walton Kindergarten and the Lincoln Day Nursery, the present house at 202 West Sixty-Third Street was secured.

NEIGHBORHOOD CO-OPERATION

Lincoln House is, in the first place, a neighborhood center for bringing about a better understanding between the races. It co-operates with all community interests, such as the churches, the public schools, the Ethical Culture Society, business enterprises and the Community Council, and also serves as a headquarters for many neighborhood activities. The first welfare exhibit, conducted several years ago, was designed to show, through the handwork of men, women and children, the skill of this group of people. It was at the proposal of the chairman upon that occasion that the name of this section of the city was changed from San Juan Hill to Columbus Hill. The new name was designed to indicate the change that had taken place in the conditions of the neighborhood, from strife, petty jealousy and race hatred to an amicable state of co-operation in advancement towards a better citizenship.

The House also provides a training in democracy, through instruction in self-government, and an opportunity for self-expression through dramatics, aesthetic dancing, charades and pageants. As far as possible, the clubs are conducted on a self-governing plan, with adult leaders to maintain proper standards. Each member pays a small fee towards the support of the group, and the money is used to pay for the material used for instruction and play. The first annual pageant, which was given last May, aimed to set forth a "live moving picture" descriptive of the scope and growth of

the activities of the House. The pageant was planned and staged largely by the club and class groups. Mothers and girls sewed day and night on the costumes; children were faithful and patient with rehearsals; and some two hundred persons took part in the program, entertaining a large and appreciative audience in the Union Baptist Church.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Vocational guidance and training in skilled and semi-skilled labor, which are greatly needed by colored boys and girls, are so far as possible supplied by Lincoln House. An industrial secretary investigates industrial conditions and endeavors to place boys and girls of working age in trades for which they have shown the best qualifications. There are classes in domestic science and arts for women and girls. Through the use of its equipment and the help of its teachers the Ethical Culture School is now giving the boys and young men a better opportunity than before to secure training in carpentry and mechanics. In all of these branches, special emphasis is laid upon the importance of accuracy, promptness and co-operation. After the boys and girls have been tried out in various industries and trades, they are recommended, either for courses in a trade school or for positions involving work in which they have shown aptitude.

RECREATION FOSTERED

A love of healthful recreation, both for body and mind, is fostered by the work in the gymnasium, where both boys and girls have an opportunity to develop physique, symmetry and poise. Recreation is also provided out of doors. A few years ago, after a child had been killed while at play in our block, a group of neighbors gathered at Lincoln House to see what could be done to avoid like

occurrences, and as a result of their meeting, a petition signed by hundreds of persons was presented to the police commissioner, who closed the street for play during certain designated hours each day. The basketball games and other competitive sports, as well as the directed play street activities, not only minister to the physical well-being of the participants but also assist in the development of a sense of fair play.

HOMES AND BABIES

And finally, Lincoln House aims to secure a more scientific care of homes and of children, through the work of its mothers' clubs and visiting nurses. At the baby show, held in the House in October of each year, more than a hundred fine, healthy babies, under two years of age, are shown with pride by their mothers and our maternity district nurse. Lectures on health, infant mortality, prevention of disease, and housing conditions are attended by both parents and children.

A beginning in better housing has

been made by the Suburban Homes Company, which maintains two-, three-, and four-room apartments in West Sixty-Second, Sixty-Third and Sixty-Fourth Streets, providing for all tenants bathing facilities, laundry and drying rooms, and sanitary, well-lighted halls and stairways. But these model apartments are only one refreshing spot in a great desert. In the Sixties alone, between Amsterdam Avenue and the river, there are hundreds of families living in woefully dilapidated houses for which they pay high rentals. These parents deserve better dwellings in which to live and to rear their children in keeping with the standards of American family life.

The various activities of Lincoln House which have been referred to in this article are designed primarily to give to those who live on Columbus Hill, a larger spirit of co-operation and a fuller conception of democracy, both of which it is believed will contribute towards the development of a higher standard of citizenship.

THE INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ETHICAL SOCIETIES

In view of the meeting of the International Union of Ethical Societies which, it is hoped, will be held during the coming summer in either Switzerland or Holland, reports from the European Societies are of particular interest. The war made communication well-nigh impossible and, in Dr. Adler's words we may well feel "as the survivors of the ancient deluge may have felt when they stepped out of their shelters after the dry land had begun to appear again. We look at each other's faces to see how we have weathered the frightful ordeal,—who has perished, who still walks under the stars and the sun."

The report from the Union of English Ethical Societies is particularly encouraging. The *Humanist*, the organ of the English Movement, offers the following stirring prophecy:

"We desire to see a vigorous Ethical Society in every town and village of the United Kingdom within the next decade, and one thinks of at least a dozen towns where one should be started without delay. It is something of a reproach that no Society exists north of Liverpool, and now that the war period has passed a new campaign in the provincial towns must be attempted. The business of starting and maintaining a new Ethical Society is sufficiently arduous to make busy men hesitate before they attempt it; but the need of the nation for moral teaching is so great, the opportunities are so promising, that we trust groups of men and women in the big Midland and Northern towns will be formed without delay in order to see what can be done. Where it does not seem advisable to start a permanent So-

ciety with regular Sunday meetings, local groups might well be set about the business of organizing a course of four or six special lectures in order to test the feeling of the locality before anything further is done. Indeed, the next step in advance may well be in this way. It ought to be possible to organize a course of four lectures in every considerable centre of population at least once a year, and if this were done the seed would be sown out of which a sturdy crop of Societies would naturally grow."

Mr. Snell, secretary of the English Societies has been in communication with Professor Wilhelm Foerster of Berlin, who although he is eighty-six years of age is still active in all the causes with which his life has been associated. Mr. Snell recently visited Dr. Foerster and learned many things about the Ethical Movement in Germany and especially about the excellent prospects for the international conference.

A letter from Dr. Wilhelm Boerner, leader of the Vienna Society, gives a vivid picture of both the bright and the dark sides of the situation in Austria. He writes in part as follows:

"During the war I conducted several series of lectures in which I especially warned against the dangerous effects which the war might have on education and on the children. I organized courses for moral instruction and plead for a reconciliation of the nations.

"In the spring of 1919 I delivered a series of lectures for teachers on 'Problems and Methods of Moral Instruction' which were very well attended. On Sun-

days we are conducting services (with music and an address on some ethical topic) which are remarkably popular. Next winter I shall again organize ethics classes for children.

"You observe that we have been active and have done as much as was possible. Unfortunately we are fearfully restricted by lack of funds. We are anxious to distribute pamphlets on our ideas, to publish a regular periodical, to conduct Sunday meetings in various places, to spread propaganda—but everything is impossible because we lack the means. The people are now so poor that they simply cannot contribute; they must painfully seek the wherewithal for a meager existence. Nevertheless there are in Vienna several individuals who are imbued with the spirit of our movement, and who would rejoice if they could put their energies in the service of the Ethical Movement.

"The need for ethical guidance is more marked than ever. This should be the very time to undertake an enlarged and systematic activity."

It had been hoped that Mr. Snell would be able to attend the conference of the American Ethical Union at Detroit and to report on the work of the English Societies as well as of the Continental Societies which he has recently visited. Unfortunately he will not be able to be present. However direct communication is now possible and it is to be hoped that the various Societies will be able to reestablish firm connections even before the gathering of the International Union next summer.

J. G.

THE ETHICAL CULTURE MOVEMENT

American Ethical Union Conference

As *THE STANDARD* goes to press, at the Thanksgiving week-end, the Conference of the American Ethical Union is being held in Detroit. A delegation is expected from each of the Societies and an unusually profitable series of meetings is expected. A report of the proceedings will be presented in the January number. The last conference of the Union was held in Cleveland in 1916. The Detroit meeting was originally scheduled to be held in November, 1917, but it proved impossible to get together during the war the people upon whom the holding of a successful conference depended.

New Groups in New York Society

Attorneys who are members of the New York Society have organized a Lawyers' Group which will undertake a study of the report recently issued under the auspices of the Carnegie Foundation on *Justice and the Poor*. It is hoped that important practical results may come from the work of the group. A similar organization, formed some ten years ago, was taken over by the Lawyers' Association of New York City, which now has an Ethics Committee.

The Junior Group, which was organized at a meeting last spring and has heretofore been known as the "Young Folks' Group," held its first forum meeting early in November, when the League of Nations, as proposed in the Peace Treaty, was discussed at length. Other forum meetings are to be organized, as well as small study groups to consider economic and social problems of the day.

New Quarters for New York Groups

Various sub-organizations which hitherto have had no offices of their own, or rooms inadequate to their needs, have been granted the use of new rooms on the fifth floor of the New York Society building. The new quarters are now occupied by the Industrial Group, the various young people's organizations, including the School alumni, the Federation for Child Study, the Parents and Teachers Association and *THE STANDARD*. One room has been reserved for small meetings and assemblies. The former members' room on the fourth floor has

been restored, and will be used for small informal meetings and by the women's organizations.

The Chicago Society

The Sunday morning audiences at The Playhouse, which has been redecorated and made much more attractive, have been uniformly large this fall, and on one or two occasions have taxed the capacity to the utmost. During the month of November, the speakers were Mr. Zueblin, Dr. Neumann and Mr. Bridges. On November 16th, the latter gave an address in commemoration of George Eliot's centenary which it is expected will be published in an early issue of *THE STANDARD*.

At the November meeting of the board of trustees, Miss Elizabeth Wegener, Mr. James Smith and Mr. John F. Turner were elected delegates to the Detroit meeting of the American Ethical Union.

Brooklyn Notes

The new board of trustees, which begins its work with the encouragement of a marked increase in membership and in the attendance on Sunday mornings, consists of: Mrs. Franklin K. Davenport, Mrs. Charles Price, Mrs. Alexander K. Schaap, Mrs. George Shettle, Messrs. Edward Behr, R. Walter Bennett, August Biederman, Robert W. Davis, Edwin G. Forster Charles M. Higgins Carl Horwitz, Samuel L. Hoffman, Ralph Jonas, Albert Lehman, Moses Lorentz, Morris Rehse, Henry Stumpf and Dr. James P. Warbasse.

As to whether the American Ethical Union should request amnesty for conscientious objectors, the Society voted against committing the organization as a whole either for or against such a request. The prevailing sentiment was that the Society should respect the individual judgments of its members and should not be committed to the views of any majority or group.

The program for the December meetings at the Academy of Music is: December 7th, Mr. Gilbert Cannan, "Freedoms and the New Politics;" December 14th, Dr. Henry Neumann, "Is the Marriage Institution Outgrown?" December 21st, Dr. Neumann, "Peace Through Goodwill."

St. Louis Children's Assembly

The executive officers and the members of the Parents' Committee of the St. Louis Society are making special efforts to familiarize parents with the special opportunities offered by the Children's Sunday Assembly. In addition to the class work—which is designed to develop ethical insight and enthusiasm, and is different from anything that is offered in the church Sunday Schools—there are organizations like the Camp Fire Girls, the Boy Scouts and the Nature Study Group which make a strong appeal to the interests of the children. Special celebrations, such as the Harvest-tide ritual, and the various holiday exercises, are designed to be especially attractive. The groups in the Assembly are becoming increasingly interested in various philanthropic movements like the Humane Society, the Child Labor Association, and the Consumers' League.

The visiting speakers who came to the Society in November were Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, Dr. J. Duncan Spaeth, and Dr. Henry Neumann.

Sunday Meetings in the Bronx

The Bronx Group of the New York Society continues to hold its Sunday

morning meetings at the Woodstock Library, 759 East 160th Street. The speakers announced for December are: Mr. David S. Hanchett on the 7th, Professor H. A. Overstreet on the 14th, and Dr. Benjamin C. Gruenberg on the 21st.

The Detroit Society

Considerable interest has been aroused in the class in social and political ethics which meets Tuesday evenings in Ganapol Hall, under the auspices of the Detroit Society. The program includes an hour spent in reading, and a half hour of discussion. During the past month, the class has been reading Arthur Ransome's *Russia in 1919*, with the object of studying the doctrines, practices and ethics of Bolshevism.

Mr. Freeman's address on "The World Unrest and How to Face It" has been published in pamphlet form and distributed among Detroit people who might be interested.

Among the visiting lecturers expected to occupy the platform of the Society in the near future are Miss Jane Addams, who will come some time in January, and Mr. Adam Strohman, head of the Detroit Public Library.

D. S. H.

BOOK REVIEWS

DEMOCRACY AND THE EASTERN QUESTION: THE PROBLEM OF THE FAR EAST AS DEMONSTRATED BY THE GREAT WAR AND ITS RELATION TO THE UNITED STATES. By Thomas F. Millard. The Century Company. Pp. 446.

This book, by an American who has edited a newspaper in China for many years, is intended to warn America against the designs of Japan upon Chinese independence. Chapter by chapter the author exposes the imperialistic aims and methods of the Japanese. He explains in detail the history of the famous twenty-one demands, the Lansing-Ishii Agreement, and the Shantung problem.

The book is frankly a partisan plea; and its intensely anti-Japanese animus will undoubtedly caution many readers against accepting all its statements without qualification. Nevertheless, it is a very useful service which Mr. Millard performs in citing the documents and incidents which he here assembles. To the student of ethics, the value of the book is the light it throws upon the

imperialist game as played by one of the countries represented in the Big Five of the League of Nations, and empowered thereby to pass upon the morality of international dealings.

In view of the charges made with reference to disorders on the Mexican border, the following parallel is of interest. Mr. Millard quotes from an American official report about conditions in Manchuria, dated September, 1918, as follows:

"On August 31st there was a raid of about 200 bandits on several towns and villages on the China side of the Yalu River. The villagers were looted and many of the houses were burned. Circumstances indicate that many of the bandits were Japanese soldiers in disguise. * * *

"The only possible method of preventing trouble of this kind would be the effectual prevention of the import of arms, and this measure is rendered impracticable by the facility with which lawless characters can at all times secure ample supplies of arms and ammunition from Japanese smugglers. Since this smuggling can easily be stopped by

the Japanese authorities in Korea, their failure to take any effective steps, indicates that they are not averse to the occurrence of disturbances along the border that may possibly give them excuses for interventions in Chinese jurisdiction."

Mr. Millard quotes another official report on the same subject, dated May 3, 1917:

"Information received directly from two Americans, two Englishmen and a Dane—all having first-hand knowledge of the questions—proves conclusively that the Japanese have been conniving with the bandits and actively supporting them (specific instances given) * * *

"The first object of the Japanese is to foment trouble and create serious disturbances in Manchuria, so as to demonstrate to the world China's inability to preserve order and to maintain peace within her own dominion" (p. 218).

Another American official report, dated July, 1918, speaks of the illicit encouragement by Japanese of the drug traffic in spite of the efforts of the Chinese authorities to wipe out this evil (pp. 215-216).

It would seem that there is a desire to keep China constantly in a state which will allow her stronger neighbor to exercise an apparently much-desired control. It is possible that the American officials who made these reports, were victims of enemy propaganda or of national bias; but it is also possible that these testimonies may be telling the truth about these uses of all too favorite weapons in the armory of many persons who advocate "vigorous" foreign policies.

H. N.

RUSSIA IN 1919 By Arthur Ransome. B. N. Huebsch. Pp. 232.

Readers of the *New Republic* will recall the letter in the summer of 1918 in which Mr. Arthur Ransome, correspondent for the *London Daily News* begged America not to accept the slanders against Russia circulated by most of the papers, and thereby let the good work of the Russian Revolution be undone. Mr. Ransome is not a Socialist. Coming, therefore, from a non-Socialist who was able to appreciate something of the honest and big purpose struggling behind the deeds of the soviets, the letter was a heartening reminder that in spite of the shameful record of most of our press, the truth about Russia would at last come to light and the opportunity for just judgment be afforded.

In the little book before us, Mr. Ransome sets down his observations of Russia a year

later. Fair play has become such a rarity in the past few years, that one is tempted to use superlatives on encountering such a refreshing exhibition as Mr. Ransome's. The value of the book is simply that a reliable correspondent has recorded what he has actually seen of the conduct of a set of men known unfortunately to most readers through either deplorably one-sided or passionately hostile accounts.

To those who have read those partisan stories, it is not surprising to read again how absurd is the charge that the Bolsheviks were paid agents of Germany. Nor need it be repeated that for lights on Russia we must look for something more than the "second-hand reports of wholly irrelevant atrocities conducted by either one side or the other, and often by neither one side nor the other, but by irresponsible scoundrels who, in the natural turmoil of the greatest convulsion in the history of our civilization, escaped temporarily here and there from any kind of control."

The readiness with which Lenine's government has welcomed correspondents of all degrees and kinds of opinion, is a striking testimony to the willingness of the new government to let the facts speak for themselves. Mr. Ransome tells what he saw of the Soviet government at work through the months of January, February and March, 1919; he visited heads of departments, talked with folk on the trains and streets; attended meetings of trade unions and soviets and interviewed opponents of the Bolsheviks. Everywhere he found the people convinced, whatever their political views, that the first need of Russia was the lifting of the blockade and the stopping of the wars, so that the transportation lines could be used for peaceful purposes. Russian railways at best have not been models of abundance or excellence. Mr. Ransome describes what the country is suffering at this time when the railroads, worn out under the four years of war itself, are obliged to be run even now for military defense, instead of carrying the food, the coal and raw material desperately needed for reconstruction. He records the criticisms of the governing party which he heard from Mensheviks and other opponents.

"No man likes being hungry. No man likes being cold. Everybody in Moscow, as in Petrograd, is both hungry and cold. There is consequently very general and very bitter discontent. This is, of course, increased, not lessened, by the discipline introduced into the factories, and the heavy burden of the army; although the one is intended to hasten the end of hunger and cold, and the other for the advance of the revolution. The Communists, as the party in power, natur-

ally bear the blame and are the objects of the discontent which will certainly within a short time be turned upon any other government that may succeed them."

In the main, the net impression from reading Mr. Ransome's observations, is that intervention for the purpose of overthrowing the Soviet Republic is nothing short of a crime.

These pictures of the efforts to give Russia a nation-wide, free education, to make the transition from private ownership of factories to complete public ownership, to put the brains of technical experts at the public service, to solve the stupendous agrarian problem in such a way that the peasants may not become once more the tools of the reactionary forces, to repair the waste and leakage of five years of war, and all in the fact of constant misrepresentation and hostility from without—this account deserves reading by all whose minds are still open to the truth about the boldest job of reconstruction as yet attempted anywhere in our age.

H. N.

WHAT IS NATIONAL HONOR? By Leo Perla. With a Special Introduction by Norman Angell. The Macmillan Company. Pp. 211.

Mr. Perla's book is the work of a young writer who has set himself the interesting task of analyzing the conception of national honor. He says in the preface, "When a nation declares that 'national honor' is the sublime ideal for which it is ever ready to suffer annihilation if necessary, that it is the one thing which it can never consent to arbitrate, we know almost nothing about the implications which the phrase comprises. If we are to meet adequately the problems of reconstruction, we must resolutely leave behind us the blinding passions and small quibblings of the passing ages and challenge with a ruthless sincerity the values that claim a right to be incorporated into the new and clean fabric which is being put upon the loom."

The author is well aware that the motives impelling to war are very rarely generated by intellectual calculations but are always certain passionate idealisms. His aim therefore is to point the need for purifying these idealisms of their unworthier content. With this in view, he subjects the psychology of national honor

to an illuminating search. Chapter two, a symposium with one hundred and thirty-five citations of varying beliefs upon the demands of national honor, makes one realize anew what a genuine civilization requires when men can look one another in the eye and yet defend such conceptions of "honor" as are here collated. The whole analysis is a very able study.

The book closes with a plea in the spirit of William James for an emotional equivalent for prevailing ideals. If this chapter is less impressive than the others, the reason is obvious: mankind has done comparatively so little thinking upon this subject that practical proposals are as yet by no means as abundant as the gravity of their need requires.

H. N.

ALTRUISM: ITS NATURE AND VARIETIES. By George Herbert Palmer. Charles Scribner's Sons. Pp. 138.

In these lectures delivered at Union Theological Seminary, Professor Palmer seeks to find the nature of altruism in its best and completest expressions. Maintaining that from the start we are neither wholly selfish nor wholly benevolent, but that we are social beings whose welfare is inextricably interwoven with that of our fellows, he examines the various degrees in which both altruistic and egoistic examples enter into the what is commonly called altruism.

The conclusion is reached that for the organizing principle which the world needs today, love will not do. Love is naturally selective and individual, so much so that it had better be called private altruism. The necessary impersonal extension which love should manifest, Professor Palmer calls justice; and it is here that he finds the organizing conception required for a better society. It is exhibited in the spirit displayed not simply by the doctor, for example, but by every person in any calling who is true to his specific task, puts his heart into it, and in all he undertakes, is faithful to this calling because he has in mind the benefit of all.

The book is written with the author's accustomed grace and fine feeling, but leaves many problems unexamined,—for instance, the problem of the difficulty of practicing even the justice which he so rightly prefers to the principle of love. But within its own field, the volume discusses an interesting subject with a very winning felicity.

H. N.

A LEAGUE OF NATIONS ON ETHICAL PRINCIPLES*

BY FELIX ADLER

A NEW covenant of nations is supremely desirable. The new constitution must be elaborated in detail by great statesmen, who shall draw their inspiration from ethical principles. It is not my purpose to usurp the place of the statesman, but rather to indicate some ethical guiding lines which it will be well for the statesman to follow, to sketch certain great ethical foundations upon which a constitution for mankind must rest.

If we were Senators of the United States, while it would undoubtedly be our duty as conscientious persons to consult our principles, yet we should do so primarily with a view to immediate action. As members of an Ethical Society, however, our attitude of mind is quite different. We are interested not only in the practical decision but also and chiefly in using the opportunity and the challenge of a great question in order to further our moral growth. And in order to get moral good out of the ordeal of mind through which many of us are passing with a view to deciding for or against this League, there is one great criterion to which I specially call your attention, namely, the criterion of Justice. Is this thing that is proposed just? Is it *right*? Not, Is it practicable? or, Is it expedient?—but only, Is it right? For this judgment alone has ethical training in it.

Now in the case of the League of Nations such a judgment is peculiarly difficult for the following reasons: In the first place because of the ignorance of great sections of our people. The American public is not inter-

nationally-minded, or well informed. The great majority of our people are ignorant as to the conditions which are imposed by the League upon immense populations in Europe and Asia. Even the geography of the Balkans, or the Baltic regions, or of those distant Asiatic districts of which we hear, in the mind of the average American is nebulous. A democracy, in its present state of development, is the worst kind of government to deal with foreign policy.

Then sentiment beclouds our judgment. The President has had tremendous opposing forces to meet. He was not able to secure what he wished. He brings back to us what he has secured and, some will say, is it not the part of generosity to accept what he brings without too close scrutiny? Shall we not pay him the compliment of our confidence, especially at a time when he is partly disabled from active co-operation in the business of government? But however generously we may be moved by such considerations, I am sure the President himself would be the last person in the world to ask us to pass judgment upon this compact for reasons of sentiment. The destinies of America, yes the destinies of mankind, are involved, and it behooves us to use calm reason in our decision.

There is still another reason that makes it difficult to get a straight answer to the straight question, and that is the behavior of the suppressed idealists. For five years the suppressed idealists have suffered. Now they are once more to the fore. By the suppressed idealists I mean those persons who perhaps had better be called illusionists, who five years ago were un-

*Addresses delivered before the New York Society for Ethical Culture on October 26th and November 2nd, 1919.

der the illusion that the peace of the world would never be broken. They were so frightfully struck in the face by the facts that they felt themselves discredited. They withdrew from public view, disillusioned; their voice was no longer heard. Now once more they come to the fore with a perfect duplicate of their illusion of five years ago. They said then that there could never be war again; now their illusion is that we can make a compact to end war forever.

Of course you will not suppose for a moment that I am discrediting the peace ideal. Nothing is dearer to my mind than that ideal. Nothing do I believe to be more urgent than to take steps in the direction of circumscribing war, and making peace more durable. But it is just because I believe in the peace ideal, that I regard the peace illusion as a serious obstacle in the way.

Finally, there are many persons who say that though the League is not what we expected yet "half a loaf is better than no bread." Let us have the League now and revise it afterwards. And the hope of these people is based on the belief that the present imperialist governments of Europe will be overthrown, that the Labor Party in England, for instance, will come into power, a party which has issued a statement in support of a really just peace as against imperialism. Why not have confidence that when the Labor Party comes into power the imperialistic features of the League will be eliminated? In answer I can only call your attention to the distinction between the official pronouncements of the Labor Party and the actual feelings of the mass of the English laborers. The pronouncements are formulated by a group of advanced intellectualists. The mass of their followers accept these programs because they are formulated by their intellectualist leaders; but the program hardly ex-

presses the real feeling of the masses. I am convinced from what information I have been able to obtain about the state of feeling among the English laboring masses, that their chief interest is not so much in foreign policy, or in the rectification of a League of Nations, as in bettering their own economic conditions. And the same I fancy is true of the labor parties elsewhere, no matter what the bright and promising pronouncements of the intellectualist leaders may be. I do not therefore attach great hope to the possibilities of a revision in the near future in case a Labor ministry should come into power, and then if it comes into power will it stay in power? The forces of reaction in all countries are still so strong to-day, so well organized, so rich, so capable, so thoroughly in command of the intellectual instruments of power, as well as the material instruments of power, and so united in purpose that it is most uncertain whether the masses, with their conflicting purposes and their weaker organization can prevail. And why should we accept a covenant which we do not regard as just in the expectation that it will be revised afterwards? If there is to be revision there had better be revision before we sign.

Turning now from the question of judgments on the League of Nations, let us examine whether the League itself is constructed with a view to compassing essential justice in the world. The government of the League is secured to five powers; these powers being the well known group of the principal Allies and their associate, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and America. These five powers will have a majority in the Council. All the other twenty-eight governments that are charter members of the League can elect only a minority of four members of the Council. Two-thirds of the Assembly can vote that a new member of

the League shall be admitted. But the new member will only be a member of that group of "small fry" that elect a minority to the Council. The five great powers hold the reins tight, riveting their rule. The constitution of the League can be amended to be sure; but only with the unanimous consent of the Council, which itself can be enlarged only by its own consent. When there is a dispute, threatening war, if arbitration does not serve, in the last analysis the Council recommends the proper measures to be taken. Always the Council! Wherever you look, those same five faces look back upon you. The 400 millions of China, the 150 or more millions of Russia, the 60 odd millions of Germany, the great populations of South America, are all under the tutelage of the five, who can summon before them in case of a threatened war even states that do not belong to the League. In other words, there is little short of world dominion intrusted to these five.

Now even if these were angelic powers without motives of private, national self-interest it would not be safe to trust the custodianship of the earth in their hands. If they had the best intentions they could not possibly have the wisdom to rule the world. But that they have not the noblest intentions is evidenced by the frank and avowed imperialism of a number of those who constitute the five. Senator Hitchcock, who leads the forces for the League, said recently that we ought to join and send our delegates to the Reparation Commission because if we do not the other four may use their advantage, not only to get the reparation but to deflect the commerce of Germany to their own countries. You cannot by any alchemy get justice out of a group of selfishnesses. If the constitution of the League is such that Senator Hitchcock fears that we shall be deceived and outwitted by our as-

sociates unless we are on the spot, and keep our eyes on them, the prospects of a world guardianship of justice in the hands of these five are slim. I am not a selfish nationalist. I do not believe in isolation. I believe in a League of Nations, and I think such a League must be formed. The United States must take its part in it. But we must not be deceived by a mere name. There are people who think that a great deal has been gained if we accept the fair, beautiful word *League*. And they do not stop to examine whether the thing answers to the word. A Utopian league, a perfect creation it is true, we cannot have, but we must demand something that will really promote the object for the sake of which the weary world desires a league. We must not compound deliberately with falsehood. I read in Article 20:

The members of the League severally agree that this covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations or understandings *inter se* which are inconsistent with the terms thereof.

Now it is the unveracity of this article that I stumble over. The old diplomacy was a diplomacy of fiction, always hiding gross purposes under cover of fine language. We are tired of such fiction. But what better assurance have we of truth in international relations when it is stated in the League Covenant that the members agree that all their previous treaties shall be abrogated, while we read on a subsequent page of the Treaty that the secret agreements with Japan and Italy are not abrogated at all but enforced? It is urged that in order to get a League we must have compromise. We can compromise, I should say, as to the means, when we are agreed as to the end. But when the end of one party is justice, and the end of the other party spells spoliation, to compromise is to destroy justice. Apply this principle to the League: the end of one party

is justice, the protection of the weak against the strong, respect for human nature. Concede Shantung—the lion of Japan will lie down with the lamb of China on condition that it may devour a part of the lamb. Concede now that this injustice shall be sanctioned, is this a permissible compromise? Can you reach the purpose of Justice by means which contradict the purpose? Can you achieve the protection of the weak against the strong throughout the world by sacrificing the weak to the strong? Is that a compromise or is it a contradiction?

Now the office of a true League of Nations constructed on ethical principles must be to overcome among the people the *spirit* of injustice. Its chief office is educational. But the League as it stands is not educational at all. The world has an urgent desire for a peace that shall be durable. But in constructing the League the short-cut method has been adopted of merely putting down a quarrel when it arises. Nay the League herein defeats its own end because it creates a *status quo* which is not just, and then attempts to maintain this *status quo* by force.

A League of Nations based on ethical principles should be directed primarily toward changing the spirit of the members who enter it. The first method of doing this is by getting all these nations to join in the achievement of objects which are important and valuable for civilization, and which can be carried out by joint action. My experience is that if people are quarrelsome, one of the best means of leading the way to peace is to get them to co-operate in something about which they are not at odds. Now apply this method to the peoples of the earth. There is the greatest need for joint action to ward off famine. Why should five or ten millions die of famine in India? Why can we not take the planetary

attitude towards famine and say that we are all responsible for the occurrence of famine anywhere on this globe? Let us combine for that purpose. The plague comes over from the pest holes of Asia and threatens to devastate our Western Continent. Why can we not have a planetary board of health? That would be a fine thing in which to combine with all other nations. Even Italy and Jugo-Slavia might come into agreement on that point. So with the white slave trade, and the revision of international law, whose foundations were laid more than two centuries ago and need to be thoroughly overhauled.

Or take the subject of the care of the backward races. The League as it stands enunciates some vague, general principles as to the treatment of the backward races; but it supplies no adequate method for changing the brutal conduct of the civilized nations in exploiting them. The League provides that henceforth the exploiting nations shall be called by a different name. In order to secure that they shall really be what they are called, mandatories of civilization, they are to report annually to their fellow-members of the League, who may be fellow-exploiters. But unless you create a spirit of justice and fairness toward the weak, unless you change the mind of the groups that are ruling the world, and unless there is to be some sort of adequate supervision, your mandatory clause will be quite worthless.

The great desideratum in world relations is confidence between groups of peoples. We must establish among the nations a spirit of trust toward one another. But in trying to settle the controversies that arise between groups, we cannot use the same methods that are used between individuals.

And here a highly important consideration comes into view. We need

something in the interest of international justice other than a court, something new. I realize that an international court is useful, just as international arbitration is in matters in which the dispute is justiciable. But where vital interests are concerned, another instrumentality must be used. When two individuals dispute there are always a great number of other individuals who have no interest in the matter; and therefore it is easy to obtain an impartial tribunal to settle the disputes of individuals. But the nations of the earth are so few in number that one cannot pick out a jury of nations that shall be impartial. Whenever a dispute occurs between two nations, all the others are more or less interested. The first requirement of a court is an impartial tribunal. And to have an impartial tribunal, one must have a large number outside those who are disputing to choose from.

A second reason why the court is an inadequate instrument for settling nations' disputes is that the forces that lead to war are so much more violent in groups than among individuals, and therefore so much less easily brought to terms. The number of brawlers in a community who still insist on asserting their rights by physical violence is small. The criminal law deals with them. But when the fighting instinct is aroused in a group, those very individuals who act reasonably in their private dealings with their neighbors, suddenly become infuriated. We have seen that in the last year or two; we have seen the glare in the eye, the primitive pugnacity taking hold of everybody, even of the gentlest, from the sheer effect of contagion.

Again, antipathies which are neutralized in the dealings of individual with individual are sharpened and exasperated beyond words between groups. It is this that explains the animosity of the Czechs to the Teu-

tons, of the Slav toward the Teuton, of the Pole to his neighbors, of the Chinese to the "foreign devils," and the animosities towards the Jews. Underneath all the moralisms of this last war, there were certain pronounced antipathies, certain objections to other people's way of behaving that had a great deal to do with the feelings engendered.

And perhaps even more important than the fighting instinct or the racial antagonism as an incitement to war is the acquisitive instinct that leads the industrial nations of the world to follow the footsteps of Aladdin. Aladdin was not a myth, but his cave has long since been emptied of its treasures, which are now deposited in different parts of the globe—in the oil fields of Persia, in Morocco, in the potash mines, in the coal mines, in the rubber forests. And it is the competitive struggle for Aladdin's treasure that largely explains the war. And how are you going to suppress this struggle by methods of the court? There is no impartial tribunal which can adjudicate.

It remains to see whether we cannot find a new instrument, another method for dealing with group controversies. The method I suggest is that of effecting justice by the pressure exercised upon the disputing groups by their associated groups. Two parties that go to court stand under a tribunal. The judge sits on his dais. The judge and jury pronounce their verdict from above; it descends on the parties to the controversy. The instrumentality that I suggest is pressure exerted from the groups that envelop the two disputing groups, lateral pressure instead of vertical pressure.

Let me briefly outline how it will operate. There will be a Great Assembly of the nations. This will consist of representatives chosen popularly, not as in this League, executive agents of government, but

representatives chosen by all the parliaments of the earth, and representing the different groups within each people, such as the agricultural group, the industrial group, the professional group. The number of these representatives need not exceed the membership of the House of Commons. It will not be unmanageable. Let there be a dispute between two groups, between Jugo-Slavia and Italy, or between France and Germany. The parties will stand in the presence of those who really represent the peoples of the earth and who must suffer in the case of war. They will be confronted with both friendly and menacing faces—friendly because those who surround them desire to see the dispute settled, and menacing because they will not tolerate sacrificing the interests of all the peoples of the earth to any selfish interest on the part of those two contending groups. The world's peace is at stake. The effect of the pressure which comes from the great assembly will be to force out of the arguments of A and B anything that is merely base, anything that is merely selfish. They themselves will not have the insolence to bring forward arguments for a selfish advantage by which the whole world's peace would be threatened. "We are listening to you, A and B, stand up and tell us your case. Bring forth your facts; we will verify your facts. Now your plea. Is it because you are crazed with militaristic ambitions, or because you want to grasp territory that war shall desolate the globe? Is it the oil fields you want, or the mining districts?" What could the reply be to a challenge like this? The group pressure of those whose interests are bound up with the interests of the contestants will purify the minds of the contestants themselves and will educate them to become just.

The Great Assembly would have a

News Bureau. This news bureau would be free from censorship, and propaganda of any kind. It would faithfully report the facts as stated on both sides and the pleas upon the facts. These statements would be sent broadcast by the delegates of the peoples to their constituencies, and the peoples thus instructed would have an opportunity of forming a true judgment upon the case. There would issue a real world judgment. We have heard a great deal during the last year of the judgment of mankind. In fact, there is no such thing, but instead an opinion generated among the nations of the world by the influence of propaganda on both sides, by the partial statement of the facts, and the suppression of other facts. There can be no true world judgment except where the facts are communicated uncensored, and the pleas upon those facts are reported faithfully. We shall never emancipate ourselves from the worst tyranny that afflicts us today, the tyranny of purchased propagandism, until we have a news service in such mighty hands that no national propagandists can tamper with it. The news service of the Great Assembly would be of such a character, on the basis of which we should see a world judgment formed. And when that world judgment is once pronounced no people is strong enough to resist it. It will run more swiftly and irresistibly than any king's edict ever ran through his realm, and it will have due effect.

The last point that I want briefly to mention relates to the ideal that went down to partial defeat at Paris. I am free to say that I do not believe that the ideal that every nation shall choose its own way of happiness is the highest ideal. That is simply individualism applied to nations. If every nation chooses its own way of happiness, its choice will often not be compatible with that of

its neighbors. Poland chooses its own way of happiness; it leads over into the Ukraine. Jugo-Slavia and Italy have each chosen their way of happiness, but their roads cross and clash. The nations did not reach peace at the peace table, because their claims, as long as each insisted on its own way of happiness, were inconsistent.

The sole method of conciliating those whose interests are at variance is to teach them to look up to something which is superior to the interests of each and which they both revere. The American formula as announced was—everyone his own happiness—and this is quite inadequate. That is like saying to men and women in marriage that each one shall follow his own way of life and happiness. How is it possible to secure harmony between the sexes in marriage on such terms? The key to harmony between the man and woman in marriage is that they both revere something higher than the man's interest or the woman's interest—namely the interest of their offspring. If each worships humanity in the person of the child, if each conceives the object of marriage to be not only the physical reproduction, but the spiritual reproduction of the race, then beauty and harmony are possible in the marriage relation.

Marriages go to pieces when the individualistic American ideal of liberty is applied to marriage. And the League of Nations if based on the claims of each of the members for selfish happiness, will go to pieces.

There must be something higher than the prosperity of each; there must be some great noble task to which all the peoples apply themselves, to which all look up and reverence, which all worship, that shall supply the key to harmony between them. And that task is the joint creation of a type of civilization such as has never yet existed, the spiritual evolution of the human race; the latent gifts in the civilized and the uncivilized to be cherished for the sake of the consummate fruition which is possible only with the help of all.

I have heard it said time and again by friends: We have lost our idealism, the ideal went down at Paris, the darker powers and forces of the world triumphed. The baser forces triumphed because they were stronger. But there is one thing stronger than they, and that is an adequate ideal. If the ideal went down, it was because it was not true, not adequate. Be not too much concerned about the powers of darkness in the world. Be concerned about your own light. Enhance its intensity, and it will penetrate the shadows. No League of Nations will suddenly create justice, but a righteous League can create the spirit that will in the end bring justice by joint action, through the new instrumentality of group influence upon the disputing groups, and with a larger, more comprehensive and more adequate ideal of an international society in view, whose bond shall be the sublime task of the spiritual evolution of the race.

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THE AIMS OF THE ETHICAL MOVEMENT •

A Statement Presented by Dr. Adler at the Detroit
Conference of the American Ethical Union

THE aim of the Ethical Movement is to produce a new excellence in the nature of man, and to change the externals of life with a view to the effect which such changes will have on the inner life of man.

The Ethical Movement looks ahead to a type of manhood and womanhood as far superior to present humanity as we of to-day are in advance of our primitive ancestors in the far distant past.

The Ethical Movement sets up for its ideal a perfect society from the fellowship of which no one is to be excluded, and in which every one shall seek to win from others their distinctive excellence, in so doing bringing to light that which is very best in himself. The ideal of a perfect society is for us the model and the goal in accordance with which every personal, political, and social reform is to be undertaken.

The Ethical Societies use as means to this end schools for the young, vocational groups formed within the societies having for their object the elevation of the ethical standards in each vocation, public meetings, especially on Sundays, for moral guidance and inspiration, while marriages are to be solemnized by the leaders of such societies and funeral and memorial services are to be conducted with a view to emphasizing in every instance the spiritual value of human life and of human relations.

The Ethical Movement, like every deeper religious and moral movement in the past, is the offspring of suffering and of vision. The suffering is the infinite distress caused by the sense of twisted relations with others. The law of the wild things of the world is that their life thrives at the expense of other life. The spiritual law is that life develops its highest potency in the act of kindling truest life in others. The baser, cruel law still prevails in human society. Like all others, we are subject to it. The tragedy of existence is that unwittingly we do harm to our fellows. Yet from the grasp of this law we must unceasingly seek to extricate ourselves, guided by the vision of better and best relations, which itself gradually becomes more distinct as we emerge from the evil relations.

The Ethical Society seeks to promote the knowledge, the practice and the love of the right,—the right meaning the relations of mutual furtherance between each human being and other human beings. There is a certain initial knowledge or forecast of the right; then follows the attempted practice. From this issues the more adequate knowledge of right, and knowledge and

* This statement has been republished in pamphlet form, and free copies may be obtained by applying to the American Ethical Union, 2 W. 64th Street, New York City.

practice both are sustained by love, and give birth to deeper love.

The Ethical Movement encourages systematic philosophical reflection on the principles of right conduct, and likewise the sublimest exercise of the imagination in the creating of religious ideals. But it tests both philosophy and religion as to their truth by their actual influence in promoting the ethical progress of mankind.

The Ethical Movement differs fundamentally from those who hold that the world has all the moral knowledge it needs, and only lacks the will to live up to its knowledge. On the contrary, we are profoundly aware that we have not knowledge enough, that we need new moral light; and we believe that the better light itself will help to engender more fervid moral feeling, and a stronger and purer will. More light is our need, more light!

We are reverent toward the great teachers and teachings of the past. We will not discard the stored treasure of the moral experience of the race. The prophets, the sages and lawgivers of old have not lived in vain. Certain insights and institutions, as for instance, the monogamic family, we regard as permanent acquisitions of the human race. But even these should be re-interpreted, sufficient reasons furnished for continuing to maintain them, and their meaning deepened and enriched.

A new conscience is in process of formation in the world. The center of gravity in human interests is slowly being transferred from selfishness to self-expression in terms of service. It is the chief function of the Ethical Societies to promote this transformation by attaching to the idea of service itself greater definiteness, by spiritualizing its meaning, and thereby increasing its authority and power.

At the same time we remember that within our groups, as well as outside of them, the struggle is still going on, and that in regard to all the burning issues of the day marked differences of view arise among our members. The Ethical Society emphatically affirms the principle of individual liberty in such matters. An Ethical Society as a whole should not be committed to any position on which the verdict of conscience is still in process of formation. Even the smallest minority within it should be secure against coercion by a majority vote. The members, whether individually or in groups formed voluntarily, should take action on the controversial questions of the day according to their convictions: the Society as a whole should take no such action.

For there is indeed a far higher mission which it belongs to the Ethical Society to fulfill. It should surround the controversies of the day with a serener atmosphere. It should foster an attitude of essential friendliness between those who hold different opinions. It should promote, as being more precious than rightness on any particular issue, that ethical modesty which admits that there may be some wrong on one's own side, and some right on the other, and that we can learn from our opponents. It should above all things keep alive as a sacred flame in the souls of its members the idea that there is a loftier righteousness above and beyond the righteousness of the day, of which the human race has as yet caught only the sublime outline.

Toward this righteousness beyond righteousness is our journey, our quest. The unity of the Ethical Movement is not in a common creed or a common philosophy, but in a common quest.

INTERNATIONAL SCIENCE AND THE WAR

AN appeal has been addressed to the members of the academies of the allied nations and of the United States by 177 members of the academies of neutral nations—Holland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland and Switzerland—represented in the International Association of Academies, the opening and concluding paragraphs of which are as follows:

In the autumn of 1813, when for years a most bitter war had been raging between France and England, the English chemist Humphry Davy set out for Italy via Paris. His biographer relates what follows about his experiences in the French capital: "Nothing could exceed the cordiality and warmth of Davy's reception by the French savants. On November 2nd he attended a sitting of the First Class of the Institute and was placed on the right hand of the President, who announced to the meeting that it was honored by the presence of '*le chevalier Davy*.' Each day saw some reception or entertainment in his honour * * * On Dec. 13th, 1813, he was with practical unanimity elected a corresponding member of the First Class of the Institute."

On October 2, 1918, when a most bitter war raging between France and Germany for four years had practically come to an end, it is stated in a meeting of the French Académie des Sciences, that "*elle a été unanime à déclarer que les relations personnelles sont pour longtemps impossible entre les savants des pays alliés et ceux des empires centraux*," so that "*nous devons abandonner les anciennes associations internationales, et en créer de nouvelles entre alliés avec le concours éventuel des neutres*."

Whence this painful contrast? We should rather have expected the opposite, even without indulging illusions with regard to the progress of mankind during a hundred years.

For there seems to be more room for generosity when the war's misery is past than when it is still raging; more too towards a defeated enemy than towards one who is still to be feared.

* * * * *

Summing up what precedes we ask you earnestly and urgently: Recover your former selves. Recover the high scientific point of view which, on his deathbed, made Ampère say to a fellow-worker: "*Il ne doit être question entre nous que de ce qu'est éternel*!" Once more: we understand how your attention of late has been monopolized by what is temporary and transitory. But now, you more than all the others, are called upon to find again the way to what is eternal. You possess the inclination for objective thought, the wide range of vision, the discretion, the habit of self-criticism. Of you we had expected the first step for the restoration of lacerated Europe. We call on you for co-operation in order to prevent science from becoming divided, for the first time and for an indefinite period, into hostile political camps.

A highly esteemed correspondent, commenting on the above extract from the columns of the *Science Monthly*, recalls the fact that the battle of Leipzig was fought in October, 1813, so that on November 2nd, when Sir. Humphry Davy was received by the French Institut, a bitter war was still raging. "It seems to me remarkable," he says, "that at that time the English scientist should have ventured to go to Paris, or in fact have been able to land on the coast of France at all. The manner of his reception was still more remarkable." And we may add, honorable to those concerned.

MEXICO AND THE SUPERIOR COUNTRIES

BY HENRY NEUMANN

THE danger is by no means over that the favorite cure-all of the military-minded will sooner or later get its chance in Mexico. Influential makers of public opinion are pushing America more and more to the point where at any moment our troops will be sent across the border. Six months ago the following significant utterance came from Mr. Gillette, Speaker of the House of Representatives; and for the past few weeks our papers have carried daily front-page columns on Mexican offences:

Mexico has enormous trade possibilities. They can be made most enriching for her and helpful for us all. The United States chances to be the most interested, because of contact and investment. We have towards Mexico no feeling of hostility or lust of conquest; but I think our business interests and our patriotic instincts wish established there conditions which would restore to Mexico the prosperity she has lost and give to foreign commerce the security to which it is entitled.

We may pass for the present the astonishing frankness of this revelation of the intimate tie between "business interests and patriotic instincts." The tragic circumstance today is the ease with which the public can be stampeded into support of almost any enterprise which such alliances as these deem necessary. How many people in America, naturally impatient as they read from day to day of disorders across the Rio Grande, realize that Mexico has never had anything like a full chance to do herself justice? A glance at the treatment accorded her by the superior powers is exceedingly illuminating.

First the Spaniards blocked her path in 1520. In the name of their higher civilization, they slew, they plundered, they fastened upon the Indian population the religion of the bigoted, superstitious Spanish priestcraft. For three hundred years these alien land-owners ruled the country

with a rod of iron until independence was won in the war of 1810.

Scarcely a generation elapsed before the young republic was reft of half her best territory by our monstrously unjust war of 1846. In 1827 Mexico had organized the territory of Texas into a state with a Constitution which forbade slavery. Our own slave-holding states were alarmed. A movement for the annexation of Texas to America was accelerated. In 1836 Texas gained its independence and ten years later war was forced upon Mexico by our pro-slavery interests. Their desire to add another slave-holding domain to those already represented at Washington went hand in hand with the more creditable motives which always rally troops to the colors.

A third maleficent contact with the superiority of the advanced peoples came when the French tried to set up an empire in Mexico in 1862. A Swiss banker named Jecker had loaned money to Mexicans. Unable to collect he made a bargain with the Duke de Morny, a friend of the Emperor Napoleon, and was conveniently declared a French subject. The way was thus opened for French troops to establish order. The Mexican republic was overthrown, and with the blessing of the Pope, the Archduke Maximilian of Austria was set up as emperor. When the hands of the United States were freed by the ending of the Civil War, our State Department invoked the Monroe Doctrine and by obliging the French to withdraw their support, allowed Mexico to abolish the empire.

The present condition of the country goes back to the revolt against the state of affairs which prevailed during the period of restoration. This was the golden time for alien investors. Porfirio Diaz who became President in 1876, guaranteed foreign capital that Mexico would be safe. So merciless

was his long rule that it was only after his death that the revolt against his blood-and-iron policies was able to make headway. This revolution of 1910 was a protest against the Diaz financial politics, against the political powers wielded by the Catholic church, against a land-owning system that kept the masses in practical serfdom.

To-day's troubles would be viewed more fairly if we kept in mind that they are the aftermath of this comparatively recent revolution. Where has any land settled down to complete order immediately after an experience of this kind? When our Civil War was over, it was a full twelve years before the last of our troops were called home from the disordered Southern States. Nay to this very day communities of negroes in the North as well as in the South still suffer from the effects of the revolution which ended their slavery. Suppose that the unoffending negroes lynched in Chicago, Washington, Omaha, East St. Louis, and elsewhere had been West Indian subjects of Great Britain. What would we say to a British ultimatum to the effect that *for fifty years* our government has shown itself incapable of protecting the lives of blacks?

In a land with a history such as Mexico's disorders are to be expected. The country has less than sixteen million people. When the United States had a population of only twenty millions, our Western border had its ample supply of bandits. Recall what names like Jesse James betokened even a generation ago. The number of bandits in our own West has since diminished considerably. Why may we not expect the process to be repeated when the Mexican lands fill up as our own borders have done?

A better chance is due to Mexico than the dominant peoples have yet allowed her. Speaker Gillette is undoubtedly honest in disclaiming for his

own part any lust of conquest; but the combination of business interests and patriotic instincts which he mentions is a hugely dangerous affair. When, for example, oil-wells pay dividends of twenty-five, thirty-seven, forty-eight per cent, as some do, it is hardly surprising that their owners convince themselves that it is better for mankind to give these backward countries the benefits of intervention. Would a disinterested public opinion sanction such a step if it knew the facts?

So often has the name of order been invoked to justify questionable ventures that it need occasion no wonder when those people who are usually the most clamorous in defense of constitutions and law see fit to make exceptions in their own favor. Hear the spokesman for American owners of oil properties in the *New York Times* for August 24, 1919. He is speaking of the recent legislation enacted by the Mexican Congress under which the government takes the title to the subsoil of all private properties and puts a special tax on the income from mineral deposits:

Every barrel taken from wells owned by Americans or Europeans since July 31, 1918, was produced and delivered in defiance of the nationalization provisions of Carranza's constitution and decrees. * * * What the Americans have not done is to recognize in any manner whatever Carranza's constitution and decrees, taking away their property rights. You cannot get them to apologize for this or for paying Manuel Pelaez and his roughnecks to protect their wells.

Pelaez is one of the many bandits who keep the Mexican government from establishing order. One reason why Mexico's police task is harder than it might otherwise be is indicated by the above confession. Will intervention now by American troops convince Mexico that we are her friends and that our machine guns and bayonets come on a disinterested errand? Has the more advanced nation no better offering to make?

AUTOCRATIC EDUCATION UNDER THE TZARS*

BY MOISSAYE J. OLGIN

AUTOCRACY needed education, and was afraid of its effect. It needed a host of clerks in the offices of the administration; it needed an army of spies; it needed a force of trained men for its railroads and ships; it was aware of the fact that its military machinery would greatly improve if the soldiers knew how to read and write; it was more and more impressed by the assertions of businessmen that schools were indispensable for industrial progress ("industry is intimately connected with public education of the masses supplying it with labor, which is the less productive the more ignorant it is," said the Moscow Manufacturers' Association in 1905); it realized that a country of Russia's magnitude and position in the world could not do without schools. On the other hand, it was afraid of "ideas," it loathed the spirit of critical inquiry connected with education, it hated "opinionated" subjects.

The resultant of those two opposing tendencies was the educational policy of Tzardom. In our times, when reaction is rampant the world over, it may not be untimely to review some of the methods of autocratic education as practiced before the revolution. It may remind educators and parents of what is wrong in their present educational systems.

The methods of autocracy may be roughly put into the following groups: (a) *Educational barriers between the poor and the wealthy.* It was assumed that the public schools in villages and towns were only for the peasants and the poorer town's folk, that the gymnasias (with an eight-year curriculum), were only for the middle-class, and that higher education was only for the

chosen. Said the Minister of Public Education, Delyanov, in a memorandum to the Tzar in 1889:

It is my hope that [under the new rules and regulations] the gymnasia and progymnasias will prevent the entrance of children of drivers, butlers, cooks, washerwomen, small shopkeepers and similar people whose children, with the exception, perhaps, of a few endowed with real genius, ought not to strive towards secondary and higher education.

When it became apparent that the new rules were insufficient to stem the tide of "washerwomen's children," secluded schools for the privileged classes were resorted to in order that the sons and daughters of the nobles, the higher officials, the well-situated business men, might be prevented from sharing the school-bench with the children of the masses. This policy could not be rigidly adhered to, and the gymnasia still contained children of all classes, yet the primary school, as a rule, was left entirely to the poor, with a corresponding lack of equipment, comfort and decent treatment.

(c) *Barriers between the various systems.* To prevent the sons of the poor from aspiring towards secondary and higher education, public school diplomas gave no right to enter a gymnasium. A graduate of a public school with four or five years of training had no more privileges as regards secondary education than a boy who did not go to school at all: both were to pass a severe examination before being admitted to the sanctum of a gymnasium. Preparations for such an examination, ordinarily conducted under the tutorship of a student, were beyond reach of the poorer classes.

(c) *Centralisation.* The entire school system was under a rigid control of the administration. No social agencies

* From a lecture before the Federation for Child Study.

of any kind were permitted to aid the Government in carrying out educational work. The Zemstvos were to vote credits for the schools in their districts but not to "meddle" in questions of instruction. The parents were not allowed to organize around the schools or to have a voice in the school-boards. The cities had no power to shape the policies of their schools. The Government was willing to have the schools financed by local bodies, but the instruction and supervision was entirely in the hands of the administration. Supervision demanded uniformity. Uniformity meant the elimination of any local variations in accordance with the character of the people. A Minister of Education in Russia could boast that at the same hour of the same day of the same week all gymnasia all over Russia, from Warsaw to Vladivostok and from Archangel to Baker, were studying the same subject from the same books under absolutely uniform methods. Private schools could be opened under license and had to adhere to the curriculum of the governmental schools. They were supervised just as rigidly, and could hardly display initiative in the field of instruction. The entire system, from the top to the bottom, was a ramified machinery of officials which could be managed from the office of the Minister of Education.

(d) *Deadening of the spirit.* This was the aim of the entire formidable net of *chinovniks*. Reading by itself must not necessarily awaken the critical thought, if it is properly guided. The knowledge of arithmetic may not entail calculations as to comparative land-holdings of noble and peasant, provided the mind of the pupil is sufficiently benumbed. An attempt may be made to give instruction yet to eliminate the soul, to develop technical skill yet to keep the spirit dormant. Incidentally, it may fail, and it certainly did fail in Russia, yet autocracy was never tired

of pushing this policy as far as it could.

It goes without saying that the opening of new schools was utterly repugnant to the administration. With the Zemstvo budgets limited to an increase not above three per cent annually, with a national budget assigning for educational work only a slight portion, with cities poorly managed and more poorly financed, the school system was entirely insufficient. In 1911, the number of children in Russia between the ages of 8 and 11 was 14.8 millions; the number of children in schools was 4.46 millions. Over 10 million of school-age children found no place in the Russian schools. Accordingly, the percentage of illiterates decreased very slowly. In 1897, it was 77.1; in 1911 it was 68 (the percentage was lower among the male than among the female population.)

It was comparatively easy to carry out the policies of autocratic education in the village and in primary schools in general. With the peasant or the city worker under a crushing weight of poverty; with school children compelled to work in the peasants' households or in shops, to help their families; with the instruction ordinarily lasting not more than three years, and with no evening classes or Sunday courses for school graduates, the pupils scarcely acquired the knowledge of reading and writing, which, in turn, prevented them from acquiring "subversive" ideas. The public school teachers were not only under the strict control of the public school inspectors, who exercised arbitrary authority and whose decision was final, but they were practically censored and supervised (primarily in rural Russia) by every local official. The salary of the teacher, varying from 18 to 30 rubles per month (\$9 to \$15); the schools being located far from cultural centers; communication between teachers even of the same district being difficult; life in villages being deadening with its monotony, and the meddling of

administrative officers being petty, annoying and degrading, it is not surprising to find that many of the teachers were not adequately prepared for their work. It is rather surprising that so many young men and women of knowledge and ability found the courage, the idealism and the endurance to spend the best years of their lives in the dreary environment of rural schools. Far inferior to the teachers in the public schools under the Ministry of Education were the teachers in the schools under the Holy Synod (in 1911, 38 per cent of all public schools in Russia). Yet, whatever the quality of the teacher, he could hardly break the fetters of a system which left no room for his initiative or personal inclinations. He was supposed to devote a large part of his time to the teaching of the old Slav language, it being the language of the Holy Books and the prayers; he was obliged to teach Russian history in an apologetic spirit, praising the Tzars and the glorious Russian army; he was supposed to be humble and devout in the presence of his superiors and to show all possible respect to the rich man (the "fist") of the village. He could use only such textbooks as were approved by the Ministry of Education, and the school libraries both for pupils and teachers contained only such books as were recommended by the official catalogues (most of Gogol's Tolstoi's, Nekasov's, Shchedrin's works were not among the recommended). All these measures gave autocracy a firm grip over primary education, and prevented the spread of enlightened ideas (though by no means did it prevent the spread of revolt).

More complicated was the question of secondary education. Here, both teachers and pupils are on a higher cultural level. The very subjects of the school curriculum may awaken the spirit of criticism, may set people thinking. A course in civics may turn the attention of the pupils to political problems. A course in political economy may arouse

interest in the labor problem. Philosophy or natural sciences may broaden the vision of students. All these subjects, therefore, were eliminated from the gymnasia. Instead, classical languages were given the most prominent place (eight years for Latin, six years for Greek, with certain modifications after 1906). Moreover, the study of those languages was confined primarily to grammar, syntax and translations, with very little time for the actual reading and understanding of the classics. This was supposed to keep the minds of the students busy and to give certain intelligence without the annoyance of "opinions." In a memorandum to the Imperial Council in 1870, Minister Tolstoi, the father of the classical system in Russia, thus summarized its advantages:

The subjects which are being studied in school may either influence all sides of the human mind in the direction of ennobling and elevating them, as appears to be the study of ancient languages and their premature and exclusive attention to students one-sidedly, not furthering their moral or aesthetic education, but calling their premature and exclusive attention to political and social problems (as is undoubtedly the influence of a course in jurisprudence), or to the problems of the material world (course in natural science). Moreover, the study of ancient languages, and partly mathematics, has the advantage that the entire scope of the pupil's knowledge can be subject to a continuous and almost unerring control which would prevent the pupils from becoming opinionated; whereas the correct understanding by pupils of what they are being taught in other sciences, especially in natural science, almost escapes the control of the teacher, wherefore the development of conceit on one hand, of perverse opinions on the other, becomes possible.

In these immortal lines we have the outline of a whole program that choked life in Russian secondary schools for several decades. Greek and Latin instead of jurisprudence, philosophy or natural science; the minutiae of grammar instead of reading and interpreting authors; mental gymnastics in

mathematics; instead of the application of mathematics to the study of the world; ancient Slav language, instead of a thorough acquaintance with modern Russian literature; the history of kings, emperors and empresses, the chronological data of battles and coronations, instead of a course in the history of Russia and other countries that might serve as a foundation for all other studies in social science; a ban on progressive authors and a rigid system of dry and scrupulous work,—all this made the Russian gymnasia a nightmare for generations of intellectuals.

The whole system was based, as it were, on slave labor and unreasoning obedience. The superintendent of the gymnasium, ordinarily a civil general, was a man entirely devoted to autocratic ideas. In fact, he was among the most noted pillars of the bureaucratic system. The teaching staff was selected from among the University graduates whose docility and submissiveness were beyond doubt. The superintendent exercised a "paternal" control over his teachers to the point of rebuking them for their associations in private life outside of the school-building. The pupils were mastered in a high-handed and humiliating manner, no fraternities or other associations being permitted. The instruction was a boring routine of rules and facts taxing the memory without nourishing the mind. Pettiness and senseless discipline prevailed. A system of espionage held the schools in constant irritation. School officials had a right to visit the homes of the pupils, invade their rooms by day and night, inspect their books and read their letters, it being assumed that the school knew better than parents how to safeguard the morality of the youth. The reading by pupils of progressive books, if exposed, led to their dismissal from school. A sys-

tem of quizzes and examinations, stupid because it failed to raise the standard of knowledge, served as a whip in the hands of teachers to curb the spirit of their pupils. The result was mutual hatred. The pupils had no interest whatever in the subjects. The teachers loathed their duties. The superintendent mistrusted both. A gymnasium graduate was ordinarily a boy without the foundations of knowledge, without the habit of mental work, without regard for scholarly achievement, and with a degenerated idea of study. A gymnasium graduate, as a rule, was not fit to exert himself in pursuit of knowledge. This hampered his course in the University and put him before many a trial.

The most gifted revolted. They either dissipated and paid no heed to school, relying on their abilities to keep up with an indispensable minimum, or they pursued their own course of studies, privately and secretly, under fear of exposure and dismissal. They formed little reading circles, "illegal" fraternities, they published *sub rosa* journals. They studied ardently Russian literature and Russian critics, notably Pisarev, Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov, who could not even be mentioned in a gymnasium. They read political economy and sociology and discussed the burning social problems. It was due to those *secret* organizations that the spirit of Russian gymnasium students was kept alive. As a rule, the very *best* pupils doing all their school work in the most efficient manner and winning the praise of their teachers, were the most *inferior* persons.

The same educational methods were practiced by autocracy also in the Universities. Only here the difficulties in controlling human minds were infinitely greater.

ETHICAL SOCIETIES AND THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

BY PERCIVAL CHUBB

WHEN I began my work in St. Louis, eight years ago, a candid friend thought to cool any heated hopes I might be bringing to my task by warning me that no liberal religious body like the Ethical Society could ever grow to appreciable size in timid, conventional St. Louis. Quite recently another sobered radical who had sadly pondered the rise, decline and fall of sundry liberal movements in the city, propounded a similar view: "Your Ethical Society," he said, "had a spurt seven years ago by acquiring a new man and an attractive new home. What came of it? The membership rose,—nearly doubled, you say: then retardation set in, and now you have settled down to a steady gait. The limit of expansion has been reached. You have exhausted the city's short supply of liberals with courage."

These candid friends were largely right. But it was unnecessary to warn me. I had realized against what heavy odds Liberalism has to battle almost everywhere in this country. I knew that the battle ground was shifting from the old theological arena to the economic and social field: that the "heretic" was he who refused to subscribe to a creed of economic conformity, and the "dangerous" man he who insisted upon applying ethical ideas to industrial and political life.

There must be some scorn of riches if men are to be free. I did not expect to find more of that noble scorn in St. Louis than elsewhere. I expected to find,—as I did in fact find—the usual image of Mammon in the marketplace; and its jealous worshippers just as indifferent to the Sabbath admonition that it is difficult for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven as they were in New York or Boston. The

high priests of the cult, the business magnates, were the dominating class in the community here as there.

What I *have* had to learn in these eight years is that, because it is smaller and more provincial, St. Louis can enforce the power of "safe" opinion more effectively than New York can. Wall Street has not the advantages of Locust Street. "The financial forces of this city are more closely organized for their own advantage than its Y. M. C. A." said a candid and disgusted business man to me the other day. That was just after the leaders of those forces had passed the word that "business" must stand behind the Mayor's sinister deal with the United Railways, and resignations from the rebellious Civic League were pouring in—a hundred or more of them. It was a stampede of business fear. The thin ranks of the conscientious objectors wavered and broke before the big battalions of the "interests." "Name, if you can, a single outspoken liberal lawyer in St. Louis!" challenged a well-known citizen the other day. One doubtful instance was mentioned. "And are the medical men much better off?" it was asked. Admittedly, no: there is a blight of timidity upon all the dependent classes. A young man must keep in with the "crowd" and purr around with the business magnificos if he wishes to make headway in his business or profession. Again, I recall how the other day a gentleman who had succeeded in "getting in with the crowd," chatting with an old college classmate who had failed in that respect, told him frankly—"The trouble with you is, not that you think as you do, but that you don't keep your mouth shut!"

One sign of hope for deliverance from this condition is a growing reali-

zation that it exists and that it is humiliating. Let anyone "speak out" against it, and he will be effusively thanked,—in private. Yes, it is a fact that plain speaking—by which I mean speaking that may possibly annoy people who rule the roost, who run the Banks and the Chamber of Commerce and "society," and "fashion," and "charities" and—it will be well to stop there—any bold word of non-conformity, I say, will bring a man quite touching gratitude from many who chafe under this repression.

Mention this condition of things to people who live in other cities, and they will tell you that it is not exceptional; and I am not bringing any special charge against St. Louis. The malady is national. It ought to have provoked open warfare in all Christian churches which take seriously the teachings of the founder of their religion. But it has not,—if only because the big interests are big subscribers to any organization that stands for "safety first" and submissiveness to the existing plutocratic order. The churches either sidestep the issue, or they defend themselves by maintaining that their kingdom is not of this world, or they banish these awkward issues from their pulpits on the ground that on Sundays hard worked men and women ask rest and refreshment, and the diversion of "spiritual" interests.

An Ethical Society cannot take this attitude because it sees in these mundane issues the test issues of the ethical life and of a man's spiritual quality. But let us first reckon with the main question,—the maintenance of freedom of speech itself. When free breathing becomes hard in this stifling atmosphere, one asks whether an Ethical Society can have a more important function than that of insisting upon effective ventilation? To keep a tonic breeze of bold thinking and candid speaking blowing through one's city, in spite of—nay because of—the efforts of scared conservatism to screen the city against it,—

can there be a more fundamental service than that? and at a time when a term of such honorable status as the word "radical" is being smirched so as to discredit the idea and the spirit expressed by it? Let us hold to that word!

The grave call of the hour is here. We are menaced by an unscrupulous campaign against freedom; and it is a question whether one should meet it in a concessive spirit or a militant one. High-spirited people will lean toward militancy. They will decline to leave the struggle,—as it has been left in the past by the respectables of society,—to the plain folk of no social and cultural consideration. They will decline to leave it today to the Pacifist or the Negro or the I. W. W. to wage, but will rally (as they begin to do) in schools and colleges; recognizing that this is a crucial feature of the struggle for democracy, and that before the world can be safe for democracy, democracy must be safe for freedom.

But how far can an organization composed of people of many minds go in this attitude? Some of my readers will feel that I am rising to a shrill crescendo which must reach the breaking point. Of course there is a breaking point. Not a few members of our societies will dissent. They will hold that a Leader should be no stormy petrel of controversy, to fly in the teeth of the prevailing gales of opinion. I don't know. There are times when he should. That this is a vital issue I need not remind those who have followed recent attempts to take certain radical pulpiteers to task for strong affirmative stands on social questions,—the steel strike for instance.

The difficulty first assumes this familiar form: it is commonly understood among us that the Leader of an Ethical Society in his platform utterances speaks only for himself. He cannot commit the Ethical Society. But the public does not—indeed some of our members do not, understand that. If

the Leader is "radical," it will be concluded that the Society is so. He is aware of that: what shall he do? He has to make an adjustment between two extremes of possibility: either he may present issues for people to weigh as a judge to a jury, recognizing with scrupulous fairness that there is "much to be said on both sides"; or he may present his own conclusions with all the edge and force he can give them.

What kind of adjustment will be made will depend upon a number of competing considerations,—foremost among them, the outlook and temperament of the Leader. At the present juncture he may feel that there is a peculiarly urgent call to assert the spirit of freedom. He will be inclined to heed the voices of those in our ranks who demand from the Leader his own deepest convictions; who ask to be challenged rather than confirmed in their own opinions; who prize the spirit of frank and courageous utterances above the merits of the particular opinions expressed. These are the people who are likely to agree that the one virtue to be stressed above all others is moral courage. And surely moral courage is our elementary need: the lack of it our outstanding frailty. There is no moral tonic in the world like it. Compassion, kindness, move us deeply, but not as does the trumpet voice of manly courage. I mean the quiet courage that has its fount in love of truth and sincerity; not hard cold courage, but the courage that trembles. What would it not do for us all, if it just took hold of us, and made us its own! Just think of a St. Louis, in this emergency, swept by a great wave of passion for truth and reality, so that it dared to stand up, cast off deception and make-believe, and look unafraid into the face of fact! Heroics!—the thing is so ridiculous! The hope, doubtless, is vain; but the task abides. Shall we not recognize the need of doing our best always and at all times to keep the moral air about us fresh and whole-

some?—perchance to develop a liking for sharp, keen air? Maybe to increase the supply of it?

Trouble begins with the application of the policy. No courage is needed to announce general principles. It is when one begins to apply them, and to dare to say that the wrong is here and there, that courage is called for, and begins to try and to vex men's souls. The pulpits flinch before that; and so the malefactor may sit comfortably in the front pew. Religion in such a case does not concern itself with "business" sins, with specific social and political wrongs, with economic and industrial injustice and inhumanity. If I say "business men" in referring to some wrong-doing, no one is offended—and no one is reached; but if I say (as I recently had occasion to) National Manufacturers' Association, some one's feelings are hurt. If I say that Mayors in this country have a way at times of ignoring the people's wishes and delivering them to the enemy, it is all right; but if I say that the Mayor of St. Louis (referring not to a man in private life, but a public functionary) arrived at a secret and shameful agreement with a corporation which the people have been fighting, and handed over city franchises to them;—and if I go on to say that this was in spite of the fact that the last time the people tried to express their views by a referendum, the papers were burglarized,—then some one is aggrieved and resentful. The rub comes, and ethical principles take edge and cut, when we handle particular instances. It is then that courage is called for, both in the speaker and in those who listen to him. Uncomfortable? Yes! But religion brings not only peace, but a sword.

There is, however, that other rampart of defense and excuse. These concrete and pressing issues may be—and indeed must be—discussed, but not in churches on the day of rest. It is contended that they are so discussed by various week-day organizations, to

which our members belong, established for the specific purpose of debating current economic, political and civic questions. Each organization it is contended has its own proper function; ours is not political, civic, economic; it is religious. Besides, it is added, the Leader is no expert on these questions. Let him stick to his last. Let him confine himself to general ethical principles, give them new power and scope, and leave his hearers to apply them in their own way. It is for him to generate new enthusiasm for them and for the good life, and to send his hearers home with renewed resolutions to live by them.

In reply to this kind of objection it is to be said that the place and circumstance of such discussion do make a difference. It is not enough to discuss these troublous problems in the club and on the mart, or even by the hearth. Let them be discussed in high places, and in our highest moods. Let us bring to them the touchstone of ideals and first principles. Let our business and professional men and women, our politicians and public officials feel that all their doings must stand the scrutiny of their highest moments and of the searching mind and the open heart in sacred precincts. There was a time when the merchant closed his bargains in church, when the trader of Cheapside stepped into St. Paul's to seal his bond. Why should he not today bring to his transactions, his life in all its spheres of conduct, something of the same sense of ethical and religious interrogation and solicitude?

This would signify the breaking down of that screen between ethics and business which causes the antagonism which a religion of ethics,—insisting upon the application of ethical principles to life,—arouses against an Ethical Society in Orthodox and conservative circles. Of the objectionable secret agreement with the United Railways Corporation to which reference has been made, it

was said in an editorial in our leading morning newspaper: "The agreement is a business transaction. Business men in large numbers have already passed upon it. * * * We are considering it now from the business standpoint. From that standpoint is it right or wrong?" Business standpoint! What foolsooth is that? There is no such thing as right and wrong from the business standpoint. The right and wrong of business is that of the decalogue: Thou shalt not steal; Thou shalt not lie; Thou shalt not bear false witness.

But this is not to speak comfortably. This is to cause pain and perhaps anger. But then that is the office of religion. It cannot shrink at times from pressing the thorn into the flesh. Let me quote two sentences from Dr. Adler's book which touch to the heart of this matter: "Every religion in my judgment originates in a particular kind of anguish, and is an attempt to assuage it. The spiritual distress in which an ethico-religious society has its origin is the agonizing consciousness of tangled relations with one's fellow beings, and the inexpressible longing to come into right relation with them." This anguish reaches its height with some natures over the spectacle of Wrong triumphant over Right. Private wrong seems a small thing by comparison and private anguish small. The story of the shame of St. Louis in 1902-3 starts that anguish; so does this more recent wrong. So in varying degree does all the wrong and injustice, all the misery and degradation, and all the want and suffering brought with them, stir an anguish which seeks relief. We must not hesitate to cause it.

Silence is impossible. Wrong must be publicly exposed and acknowledged; must be cured, if any way of cure may be discerned. The religious organization that takes this stand may be stigmatized as "heretical"; but only on the basis of a fearless policy of freedom

and frankness can it save its own soul, and hope that the souls of its members may be saved.

This cannot be a popular policy; and it may well be that to persist in following it is to be condemned, as my two friends intimated, to a small membership. But whoso troubles himself about numbers is lost. If the few can

inspire that wholesome respect for candor and courage of which they get occasional evidence, they may believe that they are exercising in the community an influence which is of immeasurable value. Let the future decide. The decision will be according to the measure of our faith—and the works inspired by it.

AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION MEETS IN DETROIT

SOME twenty-five delegates of the various Ethical Societies, who held in Detroit at the Thanksgiving week-end the first conference of the American Ethical Union which it has been possible to convene since the United States entered the war, considered the proceedings of such importance as to justify an extended report in this issue of *THE STANDARD*, copies of which are being sent to every member of the American Societies.

Representatives of the Brooklyn, Chicago, Detroit, Grand Rapids, New York, Philadelphia and St. Louis Societies attended three meetings of the Union, and in addition, some of the sessions of the Inter-Professional Conference,* which was held in Detroit simultaneously. Mr. Robert D. Kohn, who was elected chairman of the latter conference, is likewise chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Ethical Union.

In addition to the regular meetings of the Union, there was a largely attended public meeting, at which members of both conferences as well as others, including teachers in the Detroit schools were present. Dr. Adler spoke at this meeting on "The Relation of the Teaching Profession to Vocational Organization." Some of the delegates were able to remain until Sunday morning, when addresses were given before the Detroit Society by Dr. Adler, Dr. Elliott and

Mr. Freeman. On Friday evening, the conference enjoyed the hospitality of the Detroit Society at a dinner given at the Board of Commerce.

THE FUNCTION OF THE ETHICAL PLATFORM

Some of the most interesting discussions of the conference dealt with the distinctive functions of the Ethical platform. It was generally agreed that there should be no resolution with respect to the nature of platform utterances. Mr. Bridges pointed out that the leaders have a fundamental unity of spirit which enables them to work together despite differences of opinion on specific subjects. In dealing either with important topics of the day or with profound questions relating to the inner life, no matter what the method of approach by the different leaders may be, the dependence which all of them place on the underlying principles of the Movement enables them to obtain practical unanimity.

Dr. Adler stated that no one could have passed through the searching ordeal of the last few years without an expansion of his horizon, and that among the supreme interests which had impressed themselves upon his mind were the importance of spreading the gospel of vocational organization, giving emphasis to the principle that the greatest thing in life is to stir up mental and spiritual vitality in others;

* Reported elsewhere in this issue of *THE STANDARD*.

also the need for a new instrumentality for settling the controversies of groups, as the method of the court in settling individual disputes is found to be in such cases inadequate.

In dealing with the problems of democracy, he pointed out the need for recognizing not only the equality of spiritual possibilities, but also the fact that some are farther along the road than others, and that all will be uplifted as those who are more advanced seek to raise the less advanced. Nothing so searchingly reveals one's own defects as the effort to assist others who are less developed.

He added with reference to reform movements that it is utterly impossible to stake one's life on any scheme of reform which is dependent on outward results. Whether the end is achieved or not, the important result is the change that takes place in the individual in the course of his endeavor. So the Ethical faith is not based on results actually achieved in making the world better, but on the change which takes place in the inner life.

Mr. Bridges stated that while he had desired to consider this year in his addresses before the Chicago Society, questions relating to the ordering of the inner life, he had found it necessary to deal with current problems, and especially to seek to clarify contemporary ideas of democracy. He hopes to follow these discussions with a plea for simpler living and for a more rational use of the prosperity which the country is enjoying. The days of "dollar a year" service are past, and attention must now be directed to the need for more of the spirit of *noblesse oblige*.

Dr. Neumann expressed his belief that there should be more emphasis from the platform on the fundamental ideas of the Movement. When underlying principles are clarified, conclusions escape the errors of partisanship.

Mr. O'Dell said that he looks upon the problem of democracy as the important question of the time, and be-

lieves that its discussion now is essential both from the idealistic and utilitarian points of view.

Mr. Freeman stated that the problem which seems most fundamental to him is "How to Live in the Meantime," neither disheartened nor capitulating, knowing that the ideals which one cherishes will not be realized, perhaps for ages to come. In his addresses, he has attempted to show that in the meantime something may be achieved in the direction of progress, that for instance, an approach may be made towards ethical industrial relations without ruining industry.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

The attitude which the Societies should take towards the burning questions of the day was the subject of another interesting discussion. This matter was raised specifically, by a proposal that the American Societies should, like their English colleagues, petition the Government for the release of the conscientious objectors who are still in prison. It developed that while many of the delegates were in favor of general amnesty, they were unwilling to commit the Ethical Societies, as such, either for or against this proposition. To commit the Societies would be to alienate from them the large number of earnest people who are in general agreement with the fundamental principles of the Ethical Movement, but who on this particular issue are not in agreement with what in some of the Societies might be the majority view.

Mr. Turner, of Chicago, called attention to the dangers inherent in refusing to take a definite stand on great moral questions of a public nature. Mr. Chubb likewise warned the conference against the dangers of indeterminateness, and asserted that what the world needs is a fearless statement of advanced opinion. He suggested certain alternative ways of dealing with the amnesty question: Meetings could

be convened to consider the matter, and votes could then be taken in the different Societies, announcement being made of the number of persons voting on each side. Furthermore, a petition might be circulated and signed by members as individuals; and finally the leaders, speaking for themselves might deal with the question. Dr. Adler agreed with Mr. Chubb's statement.

Dr. Elliott called attention to the principle which has governed the Societies in the past, i. e. that such questions as that of amnesty should be dealt with by the leaders and members as individuals and not by the Societies as Societies. Mr. Hamilton, of Chicago, said that it would be suicidal to commit the Societies on the question, and stated his belief that among the leaders and the members, as individuals, there is no evidence of a lack of backbone in dealing with moral questions.

The conference then decided without a dissenting vote, that the question of general amnesty is one on which the American Ethical Union as an organization should not take a stand.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN SOCIETY WORK

The first meeting of the conference was devoted to a series of reports by the delegates which indicated that the Societies are introducing into the various departments of their work a number of interesting and novel methods. Considerable time was given to a discussion of the practical steps taken by groups and individuals towards establishing better professional and industrial relations. In this connection, Dr. Elliott summarized a paper prepared by Mr. A. M. Bing,* Chairman of the Industrial Group of the New York Society, an organization of business men and trades union representatives, which endeavors to keep its members informed concerning new developments in industrial relations. Important top-

ics, such as profit-sharing and the eight-hour day, are debated before the Group by experts, and general discussions follow. Excursions to industrial plants are arranged, and a valuable industrial library has been collected. All of this work has had practical results as members have been led to introduce into their plants new systems of dealing with employes on a representative basis.

In the other Societies, the men's organizations are likewise devoting time to the serious study of industrial relations, and from Chicago it was reported that a number of members have undertaken interesting industrial experiments.

IMPORTANT TASKS UNDERTAKEN BY WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

Undertakings of great interest and importance are occupying the attention of the women's groups. In Detroit the women are endeavoring to acquaint the public with the nature and purposes of the new Ethical Society which has been established there. Both the St. Louis and New York women are promoting lecture courses dealing with the problems of Americanization, and these courses are expected to issue in results of practical consequence.

Everywhere, the work of community service is bound up with the activities of the women's organizations. Miss Eoff told of an especially significant plan of campaign which has been undertaken in St. Louis, where a permanent Board of Religious Organizations has been established as an outgrowth of a war board of the same name. The purpose of this agency is to stimulate the work of the religious organizations of the city in the direction of community betterment. The ends sought are service and co-operation, and neither creed nor doctrine are allowed to play a part in the work of the Board. The two departments placed in charge of the women of the Ethical Society are those dealing with city institutions and with social legislation. Mrs. Hugo Muench

* To be published in a later issue of THE STANDARD.

is chairman of the Ethical Society unit, and also of the committee on the constitution of the Board. Mrs. George Gellhorn is chairman of the committee on social legislation. A beginning has been made through a careful survey of many of the institutions, and practical work along a number of lines is under way. A particularly charming and human step has been taken in connection with visits to the asylum for the mentally alienated. The women, under Mrs. Gellhorn's direction, on visiting this institution invite those of the patients who are sufficiently recovered to sit down with them at a luncheon, showing in this way their respect for the patients and indicating the feeling that they have for them as human equals.

Mrs. Kultchar and Mrs. Brown both referred to a practical and patriotic undertaking in which they are interested in Chicago. The workers at Henry Booth House have been devoting much of their time to giving proper attention to 150 handicapped soldiers, who are receiving vocational training in a school-house in the neighborhood. Since their discharge from the service, these men would have been exposed to the unfortunate influence of the streets and left to find board and lodging where they could, but for the efforts of a committee composed of members of the Chicago Society and of Henry Booth House. The Woman's Union of the Society is furnishing volunteer workers for the vocational school.

The women of the Grand Rapids Society are giving instruction in the making over of rummage goods which have been collected at the schools of the city for those who need them.

Mrs. Stone told of the permanent results which have come from the combined efforts of three New York organizations, during the war—the Federation for Child Study, the Parents and Teachers Association, and the Women's Conference. When the war came to an end, the women who comprise these

groups saw that a great part of their work ought to be continued. One of the essential undertakings, which is still carried on, is the bi-weekly dance in the Society building, in connection with what is now known as the "Community Club." Important features of these entertainments are community singing and forum discussions. In addition, the summer play schools, food distribution, and community sewing have been continued.

The Federation for Child Study has united with other agencies in establishing a Co-operative Home Club, which will provide a real home for working mothers and their children. The latter will be cared for during the absence of the mothers, who will return evenings to their home at the club.

The war experience developed in the women a more active interest in the urgent questions of the day. Three new committees have been appointed to study and take appropriate action on the following matters: the high cost of living; the household servant problem; and legislation affecting women and children. Members of the latter committee are attending the meetings of the New York Board of Aldermen.

A SCHOOL AND ITS NEIGHBORHOOD

Mr. Lewis outlined the neighborhood work which is now being developed by the Ethical Culture School in New York City. This work is financed by the Parents and Teachers Association, members of which have also done the requisite neighborhood visiting and organizing. Teachers and students are engaged upon five projects of community service, two of which involve co-operation with Lincoln House, a settlement for colored people, located two blocks west of the School. A group of young colored workmen who have been using the gymnasium for nearly a year have proved to be the most orderly group that appears there. Many of these men are automobile spongers and

desire to become mechanics. The school is studying the possibility of giving them a helpful mechanical course. How a group of younger colored boys are working with tools in the shop; how a few talented white children of the neighborhood are given piano and violin lessons, and how a group of white boys have come in off the street to use the gymnasium and to form a club—all of this was told most interestingly by Mr. Lewis. The final project is an afternoon kindergarten, conducted by girls in the normal department. The regular classes in the primary school assist in this work by giving entertainments for the kindergarten children.

All of these projects are undertaken in a larger spirit than that of bounty, the purpose being to seek out what is most worth while in the members of the groups that use the school facilities. The whole undertaking is a treasure hunt, and this spirit is to be communicated to the students of the school.

THE SUNDAY MORNING SCHOOL

A large portion of the time devoted to the consideration of new methods employed in Sunday School work, was utilized most effectively by Miss Eoff, who outlined the self-governing plan which for some time has been in operation in the St. Louis Children's Sunday Assembly. The children themselves elect certain of their own number to serve as officers, and these officers actually perform tasks which are essential to the smooth running of the Assembly. A new development is a council, composed of all the girls and boys fourteen years of age or older, which deals with such questions as order, promptness and attendance, and suggests methods for securing better results. The class presidents, chosen by the seven oldest groups, form a committee which, under the guidance of a teacher, formulates and presents programs for the opening exercises.

Another new departure is the May Day Festival. Old English May

Day songs and a maypole dance were given on the lawn, followed by a talk by Mr. Chubb on the customs and ceremonies of the day, and their significance.

"Lend-A-Hand" activities have been inaugurated among the graduate group of girls, who are interesting themselves in the Neighborhood House in North St. Louis. One of the most successful boys' groups is a Natural Science Club, which prepares its own programs, and provides its own discussions. Field trips and summer outings supplement the studies in the club meetings.

Miss Wegener reported that the children of the Sunday School conducted by the Chicago Society, for the sake of establishing and maintaining a fraternal bond with the children of Henry Booth House, will give a Christmas play at the House, and that the House children will reciprocate.

Dr. Elliott stated that at the Sunday School in New York, a new course is being worked out for the graduating class, composed of younger high school students. This course will deal with the point of view of the Ethical Societies.

YOUNG PEOPLE TO COMPARE NOTES

At the suggestion of Mr. Chubb, the conference decided to ask the young people's organizations in all of the Societies to appoint corresponding secretaries who will initiate and maintain interchanges between their various groups.

Mr. Gutmann told of the recent organization in the New York Society of a "Junior Group," composed of the young married people of the Society, alumni of the Ethical Culture School, and former members of the Sunday Evening Clubs for young men and of the older girls' groups. This organization plans to conduct a forum which will afford an opportunity for its members to express their own opinions concerning the important public questions which are from time to time discussed

before the Society. Social meetings will also be held, and special groups will be organized for the intensive study of economic and religious problems.

The St. Louis young people are studying the historical development of religion and contemporaneous science. Another group is studying the city government of St. Louis, in order that the members may be enabled to exercise more intelligently their duties as citizens. The Young People's Association has undertaken to resume the responsibility for promoting an Inquiry Group, which will meet fortnightly to discuss under Mr. Chubb's leadership, Dr. Adler's book, *An Ethical Philosophy of Life*.

THE MOVEMENT ABROAD

Interesting letters which had been received from Mr. H. Snell, Secretary of the English Union of Ethical Societies, and from Mr. Jean Wagner of the *Ligue pour l'Action Morale* (the Swiss section of the International Union of Ethical Societies), and which were read at the conference* indicated that an exceptional opportunity now exists to develop a strong Movement in Europe, providing financial assistance and proper leaders can be secured.

The conference decided to raise a fund, through the co-operation of the leaders and presidents of the various American societies, for helping the movement on the Continent of Europe, and to assist in meeting the expenses of the delegates to the conference of the International Union, which it is expected will be held in Switzerland early next summer. The following delegates were appointed to represent the American Societies at this conference: Messrs. Adler, Bridges, Chubb, Elliott, Hamilton and Neumann. This delegation was authorized to make additions to its number.

* Readers are referred to an article by Mr. Snell, published elsewhere in this issue, relating to the Movement in Europe.

PHILADELPHIA TO CELEBRATE ANNIVERSARY

Mr. Weston announced that the Philadelphia Society will celebrate in May, 1920, the thirty-fifth anniversary of its founding, and cordially invited the American Ethical Union to hold its next delegate conference in conjunction with that celebration. This invitation was accepted, and both the meetings of the Union and of the Fraternity of Ethical Leaders are to be held in Philadelphia in May.

A number of other important matters of business were given consideration. The method of selecting the Executive Committee of the Union was altered. Five members, as heretofore, will represent the leaders, and twelve members—two from each of the Societies—will be chosen in the near future, either at an annual meeting, or by the Society board of trustees or executive committee. The committee thus elected will chose the new officers of the Union.

The report presented by the Managing Editor of THE STANDARD indicated that the expenses of publication have materially increased during the past year—due in particular to improvements which have been introduced, and to the addition of an extra midsummer number, as well as the general rise in printing costs. The conference decided that it would be best to maintain the present subscription rate, and proposed that an appeal be made for sustaining members, who by contributing funds to meet the increased expenses of publication, will be entitled to send acquaintance subscriptions to their friends. In view of the fact that THE STANDARD is the official publication of the Union, and the leaders of the Societies are its editors, its support by all of the members of the Societies was urged.

Three committees were appointed to consider matters of importance to the Movement before the assembling of the

next conference. One of these, composed of Mr. Chubb, Dr. Adler, Mrs. Stone, and a member of the Chicago Society to be appointed later, is to edit a book of responses and songs for the use of the Societies at the Sunday morning meetings. Another, composed of Dr. Elliott and Messrs. Chubb, O'Dell and Bridges, is to revise the constitution and prepare a new statement of the aims of the Union. A third committee, consisting of the leaders of the Societies and Messrs. Kohn and Lewis, is to consider the most important matter of all—the establishment of a training school for leadership in the Ethical Societies.

The following is a list of the delegates who attended the meetings: Dr. Henry Neumann of Brooklyn; Mrs. Effie Brown, Mrs. M. R. Kultchar, Miss Elizabeth A. Wegener, and Messrs. H. J. Bridges, A. L. Hamilton, James Smith and J. F. Turner of Chicago; Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Roy Freeman, of Detroit; Mr. George E. O'Dell, of Grand Rapids; Mrs. R. G. Stone, Mr. and Mrs. Robert D. Kohn, and Messrs. Franklin C. Lewis, Felix Adler, John L. Elliott, James Gutmann, and David S. Hanchett, of New York; Mr. S. Burns Weston of Philadelphia; and Miss Maude Eoff and Mr. Percival Chubb, of St. Louis.

D. S. H.

THE ETHICAL MOVEMENT IN EUROPE

BY H. SNELL

THE great European War ended more than a year ago, and an estimate of its effects upon the Ethical Movement in Europe can now be made. It is necessary at once to admit that they were disastrous, and that much patient and loving work has been destroyed. The young promise of the Movement in those countries directly concerned in the war was suddenly blighted and its strength was slowly but remorselessly undermined. Halls which were used as meeting places were commandeered at an hour's notice by the military authorities, making several of the English Societies homeless. The young men who were their chief hope were swept into the Army or Navy, while the darkened streets, necessitated by the air raids over English cities were dangerous and evening meetings almost impossible.

People living in America, happily preserved by distance from contact with the worst experiences of the struggle, cannot perhaps realize the full force of the effect which the outbreak of the war had upon the European nations. It was as

though a sudden devastating geological change had shaken the earth to its foundations. The business of peaceful industry had to be abandoned and every power of heart and brain devoted to the urgent task of national defence and safety. And when it is realized that the pressure increased as the years went by, the marvelous thing is not that the Ethical Movement suffered losses, but that in spite of these overwhelming disadvantages it has managed to exist. That to me seems to be the outstanding blessing. The roots of the Ethical Movement have held firm. It emerges from the strain of the war weakened and exhausted; but it lives, and with courage and insight it can be nursed back to health and strength.

In England the task of rebuilding our shattered structure has already begun. There is a great deal of lost ground to recover, but the Movement is in good heart and full of hope for the future. At the Annual Congress of the Union of Ethical Societies held in May last, the Constitution of the Union was amended

so as to strengthen the Council, and to free it from the responsibility for the routine business of the Union which will henceforth be dealt with by an Executive Committee. Among the enterprises which are being considered is the organization of a conference of modern religious thinkers to consider the present position of religious thought and practice in England. It was also agreed that the Union should appoint a yearly President and Vice-Presidents and Professor J. S. Mackenzie, M. A., Dr. Litt, whose name has for so long been associated with the *International Journal of Ethics*, has consented to become the Union's first President. The Movement in England now needs the adhesion of a few new propagandists and organizers and sufficient financial support to enable it to recover from the shock of the war, and if these can be secured there is no reason why, within a comparatively short period, the Movement should not be stronger than it has ever been.

Immediately the postal communications between England and Germany were resumed, I wrote to Professor Geheimrat Wilhelm Foerster and to Dr. Rudolph Pensig, the Secretary of the German Movement and editor of the *Ethische Kultur*. Both of them sent enthusiastic replies and were delighted at the suggestion that an International Conference should be held in 1920, at which they would have the opportunity of meeting friends from other countries. Although the war laid a very heavy hand upon the German Movement, Societies still exist at Berlin, Frankfurt, Munich and other places, and the *Ethische Kultur* has appeared regularly. The members of the Ethical Societies, says Dr. Pensig, "never caught the military war enthusiasm, and we never acquiesced in the horrors of war perpetrated on both sides." He further states that "a new experience has grown out of the war for our German Societies. We must try in future to influence emotion rather than intellect, and

appeal more to the heart than to the mind. Therefore in Vienna, Frankfurt and Munich they have agreed to hold their meetings on Sunday mornings, and to make them services after the English and American pattern. Berlin will begin the same practice in October. Without exactly talking of an ethical religion, we shall hope to exert a moral influence. We hear from all sides that the idea has been warmly welcomed, and perhaps a revival of the Movement may be anticipated."

Herr Wilhelm Börner reports that the Vienna Society suffered much during the war. There was little freedom of speech or of the press, and the opportunities for influencing people in a humane way were very few. Herr Börner has conducted a personal propaganda and given many courses of lectures on moral training, on account of which he was arrested for conducting an "anti-militarist propaganda." When the old Austrian Government fell, the proceedings against him were abandoned and there is now "complete freedom of speech." The Sunday lectures of the Society are well attended and "enjoy great popularity." The great need in Austria, as in other European countries at the present time, is increased financial support, because "our people have become so poor that even with the best will they can give nothing for ideal purposes." Herr Börner thinks that "now would be the right time for beginning systematic work on a large scale" and states that he and others would like to devote themselves wholly to the work were this financially possible.

Dr. Jean Wagner writes that the Lausanne Society *pour l'Action Morale*, is stronger than before the war, and that it has made systematic inquiry into the problem of moral education in schools, and the *question sexuelle*. There is in Switzerland a "growing demand for a free ethical religious centre, for ethical marriage ceremonies, dedication

of children to the good life, and so on—but we are not organized to supply the demand.” Dr. Wagner thinks that never before was “such a splendid possibility for the development of Ethical Societies on the Continent * * * and in my mind Switzerland would be an excellent strategical position for the centre of an Ethical Movement on the Continent.”

Reports from France and other countries have not yet been received, but the above statements as to the position in the countries named are, considering all the circumstances, encouraging. They show that the Movement in Europe has stood the most strenuous test in the history of the world, and that with energy and loyalty it will be possible to nurse it to renewed strength.

THE INTER-PROFESSIONAL CONFERENCE

BY KATHARINE VASSAULT

THAT the first obligation of the professional man is to the public rather than to his client, and that his personal interest must come last—this was the dominant theme of the Inter-Professional Conference, which, meeting in Detroit on November 28th and 29th, brought together a hundred professional men and women from all over the country, including delegates from several national organizations.

That selfish interests are all too dominant and that the public's interests are sometimes given second rather than first consideration, was the confession of many of the professional men and women who attended the meetings, and responded on behalf of their professions to the opening remarks of Mr. Thomas R. Kimball of Omaha, President of the American Institute of Architects. Dean Henry M. Bates of the University of Michigan Law School, spoke for the legal profession; Dr. George E. McKean, President of the Wayne County Medical Association, for the doctors; Mr. Charles Whiting Baker, Chairman of the Public Affairs Committee of the Engineering Council, for the engineers; Miss Lena M. Phillips, Executive Secretary of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, for professional women, and Basil M. Manly and Charles H. Whitaker, of Washington,

D. C., for the economists and journalists. These speakers were followed by representatives of the American Library Association, the State Geologists' Association, the Teachers' Association and trained nurses organizations.

A permanent “Inter-Professional Conference” was organized, with the following objects:

To discover how to liberate the professions from the domination of selfish interest, both within and without the professions; and to devise ways and means of better utilizing the professional heritage of knowledge and skill for the benefit of society, and to create relations between the professions leading to this end.

In addition to the organization of a national conference, local conferences will be formed in important communities and will be urged to act upon public questions such as housing and health, in which the co-operation of the professions is essential. Mr. Robert D. Kohn, who served as chairman of the conference, explained as follows the purposes of the local organizations: They will seek to secure the co-operation of the men and women of the different professions in an effort to clarify, through comparison their distinctive functions and common interests. The standards and purposes of each will be submitted to the corrective influence of the others. Efforts will be made to

improve the nature of the service rendered to the public, to reform educational methods so as to raise the technical qualifications for the practice of the professions, and finally, to develop more democratic types of professional organizations which will embrace the entire body of those engaged in each profession.

When the next general conference is called, the findings of the local conferences will be available as a guide to national organization.

Meanwhile the affairs of the national conference will be placed in the hands of twenty-one leading professional men and women, of whom the following have so far been chosen: Miss Lena M. Phillips, and Messrs. F. L. Ackerman, Felix Adler, Robert D. Kohn, E. J. Mehren, and Calvin W. Rice of New York; Mr. Thomas R. Kimball, of Omaha; Messrs. C. T. Chenery, Basil M. Manly and Charles H. Whitaker, of Washington; Dr. W. G. Ebersole, of Cleveland; Miss Paula Laddey, of Newark; Mr. M. B. Medary, Jr., of Philadelphia; and Miss D. M. Barnes and Mr. W. W. Bishop, of Ann Arbor.

As a supplement to the actual report of the meetings, the comments of those who attended are illuminating. There were frequent expressions of astonishment by representatives of some one of the professions with regard to the enlightened point of view of some other profession. A Cleveland physician said: "I am frank to say that I am surprised and delighted that other professions than my own are interested in this matter of public service. It may have been my own blindness, but I must admit that before this conference, I had no idea that the architects and engineers of this country considered their work as a public service; that they are trying to develop the idea of service to the exclusion of selfish interests."

A newspaper man, who came to report the proceedings and remained to take part in the conference said: "These meetings have made me want to go out

and help organize the journalists of the country into an association with some principles, and with some measure of recognition of the function of disinterested public service that some of you professional men are trying to realize in your association. I intend to try to form such an organization before another annual meeting of this Inter-Professional Conference."

In considering the fields of work in which co-operation between the professions would be helpful, it was immediately recognized that the housing movement is an important instance. It needs not only the support and technical knowledge of the architects, but also of the doctors on the side of health; of the engineers on the side of sanitation and water supply; of the landscape architects on the side of town planning; of the trained nurses on the side of home nursing and the problems of the family; of dentists on the side of hygiene, and of the legal profession to aid in meeting those problems of law which are bound to be involved in any progressive movement of this kind.

Membership in the Inter-Professional Conference is open to professional men and women, and dues of one dollar per year have been established. Sustaining members, paying larger sums for the support of the work of the conference, are also to be secured. The offices are at 56 West 45th Street, New York City.

In an article in the *Engineering News-Record*, of which he is editor, Mr. E. J. Mehren, who was present at the Detroit meetings, writes as follows as to their significance:

The discouraged seeker after light in this troubled age would have found consolation in the atmosphere that pervaded the * * * conference * * * There was frank confession of failure to fulfill the primary professional obligation, that to society, but when the speakers turned to the future they collectively pictured an appreciation of the duty to the public that was inspiring. If that which they pictured could be made fully operative in the profession, if those standards could be carried forward

strongly so that the public would force them on all the manifold activities of life, the ills of the minute would disappear in direct measure with the extent of acceptance.

Manifestly, over-night conversion of the professions is not possible, and the conferees did not belittle their task. But there are stirrings in every profession, groups here and there struggling to have the highest ideals accepted within their ranks, that justify not merely a beginning of inter-profes-

sional discussion but also the hope that a force of great power can be generated with reasonable speed.

Nor must it be thought that the conferees lost themselves in idealism and forgot the conditions in which and with which they must work. In fact, the whole purpose was to see how forces could be united, first for mutual strengthening in professional faith, and, second, for developing methods of attack on actual problems.

THE ETHICAL CULTURE MOVEMENT

Ushering in the New Year

While in several of the Ethical Societies, preparations were made for Christmas celebrations, St. Louis took the lead with respect to the New Year. Mr. Chubb was scheduled to give a New Year's address before the Society on December 28th on "The Saving Power of an Ethical Religion." This address was designed to serve as a restatement of the purpose and spirit of the Ethical fellowship.

The usual New Year's Eve "quiet hour" was to be held from 8:30 to 9:30 on December 31st. The program called for music, and a few appropriate words, followed by meditation.

The Christmas Spirit

Our new St. Louis correspondent, Miss Edna K. Wangelin, reports that the Christmas spirit abounds in the Society. Mr. Chubb spoke on December 14th on "The Story of the Nativity: Its Legendary Basis and its Human Values." The Christmas Festival for young and old was to take place the following Sunday. A new feature was the presentation by the children of the Sunday Assembly of a little play, entitled *The Gift of Time*. The beautiful candle ceremony, to which the members looked forward with great pleasure, was repeated. Two bands of Christmas carollers were to sing on Vandeventer Place on Christmas Eve. The Camp Fire Girls and Boy Scouts prepared a Christmas party for children of the Provident Association; and the Ethical "toy shop" workers made 200 toys for the city institutions. The Women's Auxiliary sewed garments for the City Hospital and other institutions. A social supper was to be given by the Auxiliary on December 28th, followed by reports from the Detroit Conference, an organ recital, and two Christmas readings by Mr. Chubb.

Young People's Day

One of the important holiday celebrations in the New York Society is a new departure.

"Young People's Day" was observed on December 28th, when the Sunday morning service was especially arranged for the Sunday School children and their parents and friends. In the evening, there was a "get-together" supper for the Young Women's Clubs, the Sunday Evening Clubs, and the new Junior Group. The program included addresses by Dr. Adler and Dr. Elliott as well as music and a social hour.

Exhibit of Christmas Books

An interesting exhibit of children's books, which was designed to help the discriminating buyer in making wise choices and was given by the Federation for Child Study in the New York Society Building in December, attracted considerable attention and was greatly appreciated.

In response to a constant demand for plays suitable for children, the Federation presented at the Fulton Theatre on the afternoon of December 30th *The Queen of Hearts* and *The Princess and the Swineherd*. The plays were acted by some of the pupils of the Ethical Culture School, assisted by professionals, under the direction of Miss Emma Mueden.

Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Celebrated

In March it will have been twenty-five years since Dr. John L. Elliott instituted the work of the Hudson Guild. The first of the public celebrations to commemorate the anniversary was happily conducted by the members of the Guild clubs, at their annual ball and carnival on December 5th. Following a successful dramatic and musical performance, there was a carnival-march, in which the thirty-five clubs and other groups representing the Guild activities participated.

Library Receives Additions

The New York Ethical Society has recently received from the Thomas Davidson Society its library of philosophy and literature, comprising about 700 volumes, which formerly belonged to its school—The Wage-

Earners Institute. This school was established by Mr. Thomas Davidson, the "wandering scholar," philosopher and educator, who also founded the summer school at Glenmore, N. Y., where a number of the annual gatherings of the leaders of the Ethical Societies have been held. Some of the books have been placed in the Leaders' Library, and others in the new room which is now used by the young people's organizations.

Sunday Evening Addresses in New York

The tenth season of the Sunday evening meetings conducted by Mr. Alfred W. Martin in New York, will extend from January 4th to February 8th. The general subject of the addresses will be "Great Moral Leaders of the New Testament." Each address will be followed by public discussion in the form of questions and answers.

Interesting Addresses in Brooklyn

The Men's Club of the Brooklyn Society began its forum meetings at the Society House with a very profitable discussion of the coal and steel strikes. Mr. John A. Fitch was the principal speaker. At the next meeting, on Monday, January 5th, Miss Alice R. Hunt, correspondent for the *Evening Post*, will speak on "My Experiences in Soviet Hungary."

At the January meetings in the Academy of Music, Dr. Neumann will present three addresses on "The Problem of Evil in the Light of Modern Thinking."

The Coal Shortage in Chicago

The activities of the Chicago Society were greatly curtailed during the latter part of November and in December, on account of the coal shortage. Mr. Bridges' Tuesday evening class, which was considering "The History of Ethical Thought and Practice" had just gotten well under way, when it had to be abandoned. Mr. John F. Turner reports that the Women's Union, in the face of great difficulties, rearranged the plans for its annual sale and luncheon for the benefit of Chicago philanthropies, so as to conform to the ruling of the fuel commission as to hours. The Union has contributed \$200 to the work of the Legal Aid Bureau of the United Charities, besides giving substantial assistance to Henry Booth House and providing a vocational scholarship for a child of needy parents.

Chicago Urban League

Mr. Bridges has recently been elected president of the Chicago Urban League, the principal civic organization working to adjust negroes to the conditions of modern city life, which maintains an extensive employment service and is opening new occupa-

tions for negroes in industries previously closed to them. The League also does a great work with regard to housing, health, educational and recreational opportunities for colored people. Two other members of the Chicago Society are also on the board of the League, Mr. A. K. Maynard being its treasurer, and Mr. Harry D. Oppenheimer chairman of the finance committee.

The Boston Lecture Course

Large audiences have attended the course of lectures which Mr. Martin gave in Boston during the past month, under the auspices of a committee of which Professor Samuel Waxman of Boston University is chairman, and Mr. Clarence D. Kingsley of the State Board of Education is secretary. The meetings will be continued through the month of February, in Steinert Hall on Sunday evenings at 8 o'clock. Beginning in January, the meetings will be addressed by Professor Schmidt, Mrs. Spencer, Mr. Freeman, Dr. Elliott and others.

Assistant to Society Director Appointed

The Philadelphia Ethical Society is in its thirty-fifth year. Mr. S. Burns Weston was the lecturer of the Society during its first five years, and for the past twenty-three years has been its Director. The growth of the Society in the past few years has made it necessary for him to have an assistant. At the December meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Society, Mr. J. M. Kyle, a young man who has been a member for several years and who has been desirous of leaving the banking business to engage in Ethical work and study, with a view to preparing himself for leadership in the Ethical Movement, was appointed Assistant to the Director, beginning January 1, 1920.

Returns from Persia

Mr. Harold F. Weston, son of Mr. S. Burns Weston, director of the Philadelphia Society, has recently returned from an interesting war experience in the Orient, and is to give an illustrated talk on his caravan journey through Persia at a public meeting of the reorganized Men's Club of the Philadelphia Society on December 28th.

Wilmington Lecture Season Opens

For the past few years, a group of people interested in the Ethical Movement in Wilmington, Delaware, have organized a course of Sunday afternoon lectures during the winter months. The course this season opened most encouragingly at the Du Pont Hotel on December 7th, when Dr. Algernon S. Crapsey spoke on "Our Lost Liberties." Considerably more than 100 persons were present.

D. S. H.

A WAY TO INDUSTRIAL PEACE*

FELIX ADLER

WHEN we speak of right relations between people we need to have in mind that religion should give us a pattern or model which we can strive to copy in human relations. Religion is the expression of the kind of life which, if any one lived it, would seem perfect. If we desire to improve conditions on earth we must have before us this model of perfection. Socialism tells us how it believes things would appear if all men had material goods in abundance. But that is not a religious ideal, since it would mean only the kind of life that people would live if every one were well off, not the kind of life that we could call "perfect." What we call democracy is so largely uninspiring because, like scientific Socialism so-called, it is materialistic, not fashioned on the spiritual pattern. True democracy is a divine thing. To work for the true democracy is to endeavor to infuse into the political life the kind of holiness and beauty that we conceive of as existing ideally in a society of pure spiritual beings. Religion conjures up to our minds beings like ourselves having spiritual faculties, and seeks to realize mentally how a society of such persons would behave if they were perfect in their way of thinking and willing.

One of the reasons why I felt compelled to depart from the old faith was that I could not find such a pattern in the Hebrew or Christian religions. The Jehovah of the Old Testament is a solitary being. I could not obtain a pattern of how people should behave to one another by looking up at a Deity who dwells in solitary splendor. The divine pattern must be useful socially. I cannot conceive how Jehovah would act if he were the owner of a mill. And yet I

need to find out how spiritual relations can subsist between the people who own the mills and the mines and the people who work in the mills and the mines. To satisfy myself in this quest, I am not content simply to discover just how I can make them less hungry. Even a herd of cattle, if I were their owner, I should not wish to starve or to live in filthy conditions. But men are not mere cattle. And all our talk about welfare work in industry and the raising of wages does not yet touch the heart of the matter. Religion means that every human being has some likeness to the pure spirits who think no error and will no wrong; and we can only make human relations right by trying to make the great company of people here as nearly as we can resemble that society of perfect beings.

Nor can I think of Christ as helping me in this matter, because Christ is pre-eminently the God in the hour of martyrdom, and what we require today is not so much sacrifice as construction. Therefore I have found my way to a religious ideal which I have explained at length in my book, that substitutes for an individual god a society of beings that know no error and do no wrong. That society is my pattern. I do not believe that religion can explain things. We must give up the hope of explaining things. Our minds are not capable of ultimately explaining things. Religion cannot tell us how things came to be as they are, but religion can tell us how things that are can be changed so as to resemble what they ought to be.

My subject is the higher incentive. Although the ostensible object of business is the sordid consideration of money, and men will ask with a sneer, What am I in business for except to make money? I do not believe that the motives of the vast majority of men who

*An address delivered before the New York Society for Ethical Culture, Sunday, November 16, 1919.

are engaged in business are merely sordid. The sordid purpose is relieved in a certain measure of its sordidness by the uses to which gain is put. Not one business man in a hundred thinks of making money just for selfish purposes. He seeks to support his family. Perhaps his wife is in ill health and he desires to give her the best opportunities to recover her strength. He has his children to consider. He wishes to give them an education. He is interested in the support of philanthropic enterprises. He is not just an egotistic money-maker, though he may appear so. His business is relieved of its base character to no inconsiderable extent by the uses to which he puts his money; and then, too, by his observance of certain primary and fundamental rules of honesty, by the integrity, the punctuality of his business life.

There are surely these redeeming elements in business; yet nevertheless the object itself is wrongly put. The doctor may not say: I am building up a practice for the sake of making money. Why, we should return upon him and ask, Are you not a priest of humanity? Are you not the helper of the weak and the suffering? Is service for you merely incidental and money your object? Do you do the fine things you are doing in order to fill your purse? You are rendering a service; the object of your activity is fine because it is service. Of course you are entitled to an income; you must live. But income is not the paramount object of your professional labor. Now it is just as much a mistake for a man engaged in industry to say, What I am doing of course is a useful thing to do, but I am not concerned chiefly for the utility of it, or the social good that may come of it—I am in business to make money. Not at all; you are or should be in business to render service, precisely as is expected of the doctor. Your service is not of the same kind; still it is service. How could the world live if the agriculturalists did not produce food? How could it be clothed if the textile mills

were shut down? How could we have our bridges built without the steel-makers?

Society should be regarded as divided into great social groups, the agricultural group, the industrial group, the commodity-producing group, the professions, etc. Each of these groups has some indispensable service to render to society. Why should those who are in any one of these groups take the stand that unlike the doctor, they live not to do the service but to obtain the pecuniary gain? The reason why men take such a view is chiefly because the consumer is not kept in view. Business is carried on and products are sent into the market, no one knowing who will use them. Production is chaotic. There is no due proportion between the supply and the demand. Hence the markets are glutted; hence overproduction; hence crises. The service is done but badly done. Society does not get what it is entitled to because those who render the service are not thinking of society, but of their selfish gain. If the thought of society's needs were paramount in their minds, there would be no over-production. During the war, when everyone was keen for a single object, the attempt was made to proportion the supply to the demand. The Government undertook to calculate how much was wanted, and to stop superfluous production in one direction, that there might not be deficient production in another. An attempt was made at regulation. The unselfish purpose that for a time lifted America to a higher level brought the service idea into view; why should it not be continued as a regulative, as a redeeming force?

While then I grant that at present the incentive is not as such necessarily base, because the average money-maker is inspired by the uses to which he can put money, yet the object itself being base, there is needed a higher incentive. The first step that I would suggest in the direction of the higher incentive is to think of oneself not as a split-off atom but as an agent of the service group to which

one belongs. If you are a farmer, think of yourself as one of the food producers of the nation whose work it is to feed people. If you get a money return (for the laborer, of course, is worthy of his hire), that is to be regarded just as incidental as the physician's fee. Your incentive is to do well the work of your group, to feed the world. That actually was the incentive of the farmers' group during the war. But now we hear the farmer again complaining and saying: Why should I increase the acreage? Over there the millions may be starving. But unless I reduce the acreage I cannot get my price. When the farmer speaks or acts thus he has lost contact with his group and its service and become split-off like an atom. He thinks only of his individual material advantage. The first step toward a really higher incentive is to cultivate the group sense. That would also transform all the professions and occupations. Perhaps the most striking example of the effect of the permeation of the individual by the group sense may be found in the instance of the Roman Catholic priesthood. The influence of this body of men has been unparalleled in the world. In great measure it is due to the fact that from the highest cardinal at Rome to the humblest parish priest in the Irish bogs the whole body of priests is permeated by one motive, that of subservience to the one task for which they conceive themselves to exist in this world.

I read somewhere that in the early part of the last century Boston merchants had this proud feeling about their merchant group, as if they were, the author from whom I quote says, "a kind of church." They elected their best men, like Webster and Sumner, to high office, because having this noble feeling about their business they felt that they must be patterned by the highest type of men. The feeling of the Roman Catholic, and of the "kind of feeling about business. A step towards a higher in-

centive, besides thinking of one's self as the agent of one's group, is to think of one's self as elevating the group. We are not only to do our task but to improve the task that our fellows are trying to do. There is not yet a single vocation that is anywhere near doing its task as well as it ought. Every profession and occupation falls short of the mark. Are the lawyers, for example, administrators of justice? I do not join in the hue and cry against lawyers. As a body they are as excellent a type of men as any other in the community. But are they doing their task? They are not. Mr. Reginald Heber Smith's pamphlet the other day showed that equal justice is far from being done to the poor, and the lawyers as a rule have not even conceived of the problems set them by the new ideas of social justice, ideas that must be worked into law if society is to progress in an orderly fashion. Or take the physicians. The science of medicine has taken great strides forward; but the art of medicine fails at many a bedside, is impotent to save. Again, the world is filled with mills and blast furnaces, and the country is covered with the evidences of industry. These industries are producing commodities, but they are manifestly not doing their job. They are producing to sell, but the mass of mankind are still unfurnished.

Some way must be found of improving the performance of the task in every sphere of activity. Each man must do his work in the world in such a way that the work of the world shall be better done because he has worked in it. The single sentence in which I would express my philosophy of life is this: Do your work, whatever your sphere, whatever your task, so that the work of the world shall be better done because you have worked in it.

But even the improvement of the task is not yet the ultimate incentive. The highest incentive is to conceive of work as an opportunity, to imitate the personal relations that would subsist if you and your fellows were pure spiritual beings,

knowing no error and doing no wrong. You may object that a man of science, a great man like Helmholtz or Darwin or Newton, does not chiefly care about his relations to persons. He is busy working out his theory. He spends years and years on that. Likewise you will say that the great artist, alone in his studio as he works at his statue or his painting, does not get the meaning of life from his personal relations. But I hold to my view. The personal relations between the man of science and others may be limited, but there must be a few persons with whom he is in intimate touch, and these few are to him invaluable as means of stimulating his thought and of testing it. The same is true of the artist. The circle of mutual influence may be contracted, but the relation becomes more intense the closer it is drawn, and more necessary the fewer the persons related. Besides the work of the scientist is merely scientific so long as he thinks only of his discovery, of his theory; it becomes ethical when he thinks of it as the means of starting up new thought in other scientists. The test will come at the end. During the interval, while the scientist is working out his theories, he may be much alone, although even then, as I have said, he needs the close companionship of the few. But the test of the vitality of what he has accomplished is in its effect in starting up new prolific ideas in thousands of other minds. Thus everything that we do alone, wherever it seems that we get the highest values of life out of solitude, is tested as to its essential vitality when, going forth from the solitude, it exhibits itself as a living thing by starting up life in fellow human beings.

To glance back for a moment, the ethical principle in industry means looking upon work as social service. But the word "service" must not be defined sentimentally. People speak of social service as doing things that appeal to the heart, such as caring for the sick. Social service has come to have this connotation. But the substance of social service

is in doing one's work as an agent of the group and doing it so as to better the work. And lastly and chiefly, the task must be the means of interweaving between one's self and one's fellow-workers the spiritual relation. There is nothing that is so mistaken as the idea that one can be a sordid person in business, and then do real social service outside, dividing life into two halves, the sordid and the nobler half. The real social service is the work itself and the worth of the man is in his work. I value most highly one who stands for the highest type of efficiency in his work than the so-called philanthropist. But the type of efficiency I refer to is achieved only by means of the right relations, the right nexus with fellow workers. The cash nexus is not a human nexus. The factory, the mill, should but be the background on which to weave the personal relations. That means such relations as subsist between beings having minds and self-determining wills. I am bound to think of the workers as having minds. I must endeavor as far as possible, however mechanical the work may be, to stimulate their minds, making them acquainted with the science that goes into their work. At present the science in industry is capitalized in the heads of the few men at the top, just as the money capital is in the hands of the few. In so far as science enters into your business, and it enters into every business, try to bring it as far as possible within reach of the workers' understanding. Give to the workers some comprehension of the different processes. Give them "a vestibule education" as it is now called. Give them continued adult education. Of course education of this sort will not solve all the problems. The hours of monotonous labor will have to be reduced so that those who work in mills may also work in agriculture or in the handicrafts, etc.

Again the worker must be recognized not only as a being capable of intelligence but also as a being having a self-determining will. His will is to count in mak-

ing the arrangements, the laws under which he is to serve. A voice in the government of industry is a *moral demand*. Apart from the consideration of increasing efficiency and production, it means a recognition of the will of the human being who is associated in the business. There is nothing that would immediately relieve the situation in the industries so much as this recognition. The workers are not children. Some have had no education but they have minds. How can they be waked up and stimulated in spite of the dead weight of monotonous machine production? The workers are moral beings. Let us then have industrial representation, not primarily in order that they may obtain more control of their wages and hours, but as evidence of respect for the moral nature of the man as having a will which must be consulted in the making of any law to which he is to be subjected.

This means that democracy should be introduced into industry. But here I must carefully guard myself against being understood to mean by democracy the kind of democracy we have now. The kind of democracy we have now, if it were introduced into industry with its bosses, its wire-pulling, its incidental corruption would spell ruin. That sort of democracy we do not want in industry. The right kind of democracy in industry is that which recognizes the difference between the different functionaries. It is organic democracy. The organic, the ideal democracy is derived from that conception of religion that I spoke of as the mutual relation of pure spiritual beings who know no error and can do no wrong.

There are two poles of thought in regard to this spiritual pattern of democracy. The one is that every human being must be counted in; none may be left out, none can be spared. Each is indispensable. This poor fellow, this Hun, this Slav, this man who has come out of the trampled dregs of humanity from across the water, reeking with oppression, shall he too be counted in? Yes!

Because I must think of him as having a mind and potential will. If he is wrong-headed and unenlightened, we will say that he must be instructed and enlightened. Nevertheless his claim to be counted is incontestable; it is based on his moral nature. You cannot base true democracy on anything else. There is something hidden in him—it may be far down, it may never come out—yet there is something in him that would be a contribution. He has something to give, if we can only find a way of getting at it.

The other pole of thought implied in democracy is that I personally need him and all the multitude outside myself *for my own sake*. Because my conception of the divine relation is not only that each is indispensable and therefore to be counted in, but also that the influence which comes from all these others focused upon myself is necessary to force me to develop my gift, in order that I may achieve my intimate selfhood, my very selfhood. I cannot develop the power I have, that is unlike every one else's, unless I am under the pressure of all these other influences. I must be forced to give up trying to imitate, to counterfeit, to be a duplicate of someone else. I must be forced upon my own ground by the influence of all my spiritual mates. This is the conception of the spiritual relation. Those who stand in this relation would be indispensable to one another and each would open his arms wide to take in the sheaves of influence that come from all the rest.

Before they degenerated, the old guilds had something of the idea of a group task for all the members. I should like to see the great industries organized in guild fashion. I would not have Socialism, because Socialism means that in regard to any industry the inexperienced would have overbalancing influence above the expert. Socialism is government by the mass. The mass of people are always inexperienced with respect to any one vocation, and if the mass governed, the representatives of the inexperienced majority would have excessive power over

the expert. I should like to see guild organization and relative independence for the workers that are engaged in it. For they know its conditions best. Only those who are engaged in a work intimately know its requirements. There should be general state supervision, but in the main independence for these guilds. The object should not be, as in Mr. Cole's Guild Socialism, materialistic. It should be higher than that. The object should be, as I have said, to project influence on the mind and will of the workers and receive it from them, to develop the possibilities of their natures. Life should be so ordered that the thing that each person does shall be the means of developing him as a mental and moral being. That is the true object of government, and that should be the purpose of the guild when inspired by the ethical principle. True, the organization which we are to look to and work towards cannot be extemporized, but we should work towards it. In such an organization the employer would cease to exist. There would be specialists to employ the recruits for the industry; there would be chiefs who possess the executive and organizing ability. Employers now are supposed to have that ability. Many are very far from having it. Many businesses go to ruin because the wrong man is at the head. Great care should be taken that the man at the head should be worthy of the place he fills, and then those who are at the head would be respected, each in his sphere. There would no longer be the attempt on the part of the jealous workers to wrest from the directing head the functions that properly belong to him. He would be safeguarded in his functions, but so would every worker. There would be no unskilled workers. It is a paradox that there should be unskilled workers. No human being should be an unskilled worker. The gifts and the functions are various, and would be variously distributed. The income would be like that of the salaried officials of state and church today. The surplus gains of the industry would be used to reduce costs,

to improve methods and ways, to raise the standard of life for all concerned. The wage system will be passing away into something finer, having a higher incentive.

Now the last point which I cannot expatiate upon, but wish to mention, is this. I differ from the current, ineffectual conception of democracy, because that conception of democracy is materialistic and *militant*. It arose at a time when the multitude rebelled against the privileged few, privileged to sit in the sun of material prosperity and keep others out in the cold. Democracy was an attempt to drive the Harpies from the feast and to give access to material things to those who had been unduly deprived of them. But it was materialistic in its purpose and defensive or militant as against privilege. It was not essentially constructive in its purpose. My thought is that we should drop the defensive and militant attitude and turn to the constructive idea of democratic progress, which would eliminate privilege, while at the same time introducing a nobler incentive in the political and social life of men.

In constructing society on a democratic principle I insist also on the distinction between forward and backward persons in the community. That distinction is at present quite ignored. People think it is undemocratic to recognize that some are highly developed and some are less developed. Democracy means for them the equality which ignores differences, especially the capital difference between the more advanced and the backward. But it is in my view the very essence of democracy to recognize the distinction between the forward and backward. That distinction actually exists in every sphere. It is characteristic of the human species. It exists in the family. There we have the developed adult parents in relation to the undeveloped children. The parent finds it to be his duty and his great responsibility to develop the young life, to win its values out of it. The parent as it were sees in the child what Aristotle called the *entelechy*. That is a noble

word. It means seeing a person as he would be if he were in his kind perfect, seeing all the possibilities actualized in the person. The parent endeavors to see the child idealized, to see the *entelechy* of the child, to see the child as it may be, and then his task is to develop the child into the fashion of such nobleness and greatness. And in the act of trying to develop his child the parent, if he is honest, will often say—Ah! I cannot succeed. Why? Because I am not educated enough. I cannot answer that child's question—I am not sufficiently trained. I have infirmities of temper. I am not sufficiently disciplined. I am not setting the best example. And then the responsibility of elevating the undeveloped will have the effect of making the more developed aware of their deficiencies and will become the profoundest stimulus towards effort for self-perfection in the advanced.

Now the same is true in society, in every profession. There is not a profession in which you do not find the distinction between the comparatively few who have the higher standards and the deadweight of the mass who have the lower standards. You find it among lawyers, doctors, the clergy, the merchants. And it is only by addressing ourselves to the task of elevating the dead, heavy standards of the mass that we discover the deficiencies in our own standards.

That is also true of the employers—I wish to make here the concluding application of my thought—I mean of those that have the better standards. How often have I heard the employer say: My

best efforts have been thwarted; partly by the remissness of my fellow-employers, who have low standards, and partly by the folly and the ignorance and the slackness of this mass of workers with whom I have to deal. I would say to such men, You must realize that you cannot expect quick results; you must think of yourselves as teachers, as guides; you must be infinitely patient. You must remember the long history of evil and wrong on both sides antecedent to the present situation. You must find your satisfaction, not in great results but in the consciousness that you are pushing that part of the world which you influence in the right direction. And more than that, and better than that, if you consider it in very truth your task to raise the low standards of the workers in your employ, then you must presently be led to ask yourself whether your own standards are right. You will be led to ask, Am I still the victim perhaps of the big idea that I am in business for gain alone and not for service? Do I indeed look upon my plant as an opportunity to weave personal relations between these other minds and mine? And so in the responsibility that is upon you of lifting those that have the lower standards, you will discover the defects of your own standards, and will receive the impulse towards self-correction, self-perfection.

In the old religion, salvation consisted in believing. Real salvation consists in endeavoring to lift others, and the effect of the endeavor will be to raise oneself. In saving others we are saved.

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VICARIOUS VIRTUE

BY DAVID SAVILLE MUZZEY

TIMES of profound public agitation like the present are not particularly favorable for self-examination. Instead of turning a calm, scrutinizing eye upon the inward forum of thought and conscience, to discriminate as clearly as we may the ethical values of a hundred confused and conflicting propositions, we are tempted to take the short cut of pronouncement. Instead of making sure that it is out of the integrity, if not the abundance, of the heart that the mouth speaketh, we yield hastily to the specious necessity of agreeing with somebody else's opinion. Of all the temptations to self-deception and vanity which assail the human race hardly any is more subtle than that of parading in borrowed intellectual and moral plumage. Let us call it the fallacy of vicarious virtue.

In its grosser and more obvious manifestations this habit takes the form of unabashed and boastful appropriation of another's services or merits. Jesus, in one of his many altercations with the Pharisees, told them that the only way to the liberation of their spirit was the experience of honest moral exploration: "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." But they, bristling with indignation, replied that they had never been in need of liberation: "We have Abraham to our father." "If ye were the children of Abraham," replied the great teacher, "ye would do the works of Abraham." This is a par-

able of the pleaders of vicarious virtue in every land and century. Citizenship in the early Roman Republic, for example, was synonymous with the performance of important public duties, but the time came when Roman citizenship degenerated into an otiose privilege merely, which exempted the possessor from the very obligations which gave the term *civis Romanus* its significance. The men who had the Decii and the Metelli to their fathers no longer needed to do the works of a Decius or a Metellus. So the French nobles of the court of the Bourbons had divested themselves of all responsibility to the motto "*noblesse oblige*." It was enough that they were descended from men of "present valor." Wherever pride of birth, rank or race reaches the point of self-congratulation, virtue declines.

But the evil is not confined to these more aggravated forms. Even where religious and political democracy have made their slow way of triumph over theocratic pretensions and aristocratic privilege, the temptation of vicarious virtue still remains. We are all so anxious to appear to know more than we do, or to be richer than we are, or to have more influence than we have, or to be better acquainted with those who have influence than we are—in short, to deck ourselves with some kind of borrowed plumage, financial, intellectual or social—that it is very hard to be always only our honest selves. How

naked would some souls appear if they were stripped of all vicarious virtue! And yet it is not always, or perhaps even generally, a deliberate fault in men that they are clothed like Teufelsdröck. When we consider the religious doctrines and the educational theories in which the race has been nourished, it seems rather a marvel that men have accomplished such re-tailoring of the soul as they have.

The church must bear a large part of the blame, in spite of all its benefits to the world, for the systematic inculcation of the doctrine of vicarious virtue. The basal dogma of orthodoxy is the impotence of human virtue. The undeniable weakness, ignorance, and imperfection in man, which are revealed the more closely as the beacon of his ideal glows more brightly, have never been looked on by the church as the raw material of spirituality to be refined by ceaseless effort; but as putrefying refuse and "filthy rags" to be replaced by the imputed righteousness of a sinless savior. Man's greatest virtue, consequently, consisted in his denial of any virtue. There was no ethical work for him to do, because there was nothing of worth in him to work on. Self-knowledge, instead of being the beginning of wisdom, was the end of folly. The patience to dwell with incompleteness while traveling the slow way of moral redemption, was rejected for the miracle of sudden transformation. Prosaic reality yielded to poetic fiction, rationalism to supernaturalism, Socrates to St. Paul.

It is true that the church in the last generation or two has reduced the sharpness of contradiction between its creeds and modern thought, secular and scientific. The evolutionary doctrine, accepted quite widely by the Protestant churches, has caused emphasis to be laid on the developmental instead of the cataclysmic nature of redemption, and this, of course, has meant the recognition of some human material fit for development. Then again, the great

wakening to the responsibility of society for its hideous social wreckage has forced the church, if it would not fall hopelessly behind secular organs of charity, relief and reconstruction, to interest itself deeply in the betterment of temporal conditions in a world which its creed consigned to speedy destruction. These changes in the influence of organized religion tend to emphasize the natural and secular at the expense of the miraculous and other-worldly; and in so far they are an encouragement to the substitution of real virtues for imputed ones. But we must remember that these religious tendencies, while unmistakable and cumulative today, are after all very recent. Against a generation or two of "humane" religion we have centuries of the creed whose glory was "*nil humanum*." The psychological effect of a doctrine which taught the utter worthlessness of the natural man, and put the highest premium on his reliance upon a virtue wholly outside himself, needs no comment. It is only as this precept has been honored in the breach rather than in the observance that mankind has made moral advance.

Or take again the story of education. For century after century it has meant teaching men to venerate authorities, not to cultivate faculties. Roger Bacon wished that all the books of Aristotle might be burned so that the world could have a fresh intellectual start. The scholastic method of argument on the basis of revealed truth Bacon attacked in his *Opus Majus*: "It makes us concede the conclusion but does not certify its truth or remove doubt from the mind so that it shall rest in the contemplation of verities, which can come only from experiment." For such sentiments Bacon was allowed to spend several years immured like a prisoner in a Parisian convent. We smile at the servility of the mediaeval education, but we have not even yet divested ourselves of its baleful influence, any more than we have wholly shaken "the torpor of

assurance from our creeds." How many men of our own generation would bear witness that their education, even that called "higher," consisted to a disgracefully large extent in learning what "authorities" said about literatures, philosophies, and sciences, rather than in getting acquainted at first hand with the masters. I myself have read in so many places about Descartes that I'm not sure whether I've ever read a single page of his works. I know that I didn't in college—where I was supposed to be "studying" him. And if I have ever expressed any opinions of Descartes's philosophy (as I think I have not) they have been the opinions of others.

Our educators are fully alive now to the deleterious effect of a training in which memorizing and tabulating usurp the place of honor due to mental reaction on properly assimilated knowledge. But here again the reform is recent and the abuse inveterate. Even the boasted schools of the Renaissance did hardly more than change the subjects without altering the method. And it made comparatively little difference whether the students memorized Vergil or Martianus, Marsiglio or Peter Lombard.

I have cited these two lines of tradition, in church and school, which have come down through the centuries making the way straight and broad for the apostles of vicarious virtue. In the light of their history we see generation after generation treading the monotonous march of assent. Everywhere we see a premium put on conformity, a penalty on originality. We have been awed by the fixity of traditional estimates and evolutions, believing them to be determined by divine decree when they are often only preserved by human inertia. For we must remember that reputations as well as property are often affected by the process of "unearned increment." And if we add to this long historical encouragement to repeat the coned opinions of orthodoxy, the inward temptation to appropriate judg-

ments of others in matters where we are too ignorant or timorous or lazy to form our own, we cannot wonder that intellectual honesty is so rare.

For the flattery of gregarious approval is almost irresistible. Professor Cooley tells us how men are apt to lose their moral integrity under the stress of mob psychology. They act in crowds as no member of the crowd would act alone. The lower instincts, like revenge, cruelty, race hatred, suspicion, come to the top when the restraint of calm reflection is moved, and "the passions swarm up like mutinous sailors from the fore-castle" after the captain has fallen on the quarter-deck. Less gruesome, but no less irrational, is the assent of the untempered mind to popular currents of opinion. Men vie with their neighbors in club and car and café in assertions that gather strength with repetition, which they would be ashamed to repeat before their own mirror. The borrowed plumage with which they decked their mind is laid aside with their garments.

Now the penalties attached to the intellectual vice of trading on vicarious virtue are very serious for the man who really prizes mental and moral integrity. Both reputation and character suffer from it. Whatever immediate gains seem to accrue from impressing new acquaintances with a show of knowledge or judgment beyond one's depth, or whatever solemnities of "sir oracle" may serve to keep the undiscerning still impressed, the judicious, whose opinion alone is worth having, soon discover the fraud. "Assume a virtue if you have it not" is one of the most foolish of a hundred foolish counsels in our proverbs. It is a sheer recommendation of hypocrisy. We need only to think over our list of friends to realize that the ones who have our deepest respect are just those who are most genuine. As the late William James said, we should not attribute the worth we do to unlettered and even ignorant persons who have the mark of

utter sincerity upon them, unless we recognize that the root of character lay there. We are disgusted with people who use a carmen stick on the lips of the heart and smear violet powder over their opinions. Mental (like other) cosmetics defeat the very object for which they are employed.

More serious still is the deterioration of character which inevitably accompanies the assumption of vicarious virtue. The duty of developing our own genius, such as it is, is imperative. We are not responsible for our endowment or capacities; to some nature gives ten talents, to others one. But we are each responsible for the cultivation of such talents as have been given us. To do this we must face our mental and moral assets with determined honesty. Self-knowledge is the beginning of wisdom. Now we cheat ourselves of the birth-right of laboring at the noblest task on earth, the building of a character, when we reject the real material of conviction and truth for the showy stuff of pretence. Powers that are not exercised become atrophied. Just as muscles grow flabby and the will loses authority through the indulgence of neglect, so the mind allowing itself to drift along the path of least resistance, taking on an opinion here and there as a careless loiterer might cull flowers on a bank, makes itself unfit for true judgments. If any man thinks that he is furnishing his mind by appropriating ready-made opinions and passing them off as his own, he is grievously deceiving himself. He is like the child who thinks he is planting a beautiful garden by sticking sprigs of lilacs and forsythia into the ground.

Character is quality of soul. In its etymology the word means an "engraving," as if the stylus of experience bit into the metal of consciousness leaving its record for our education. But the repetition of unpondered opinion passes over the mind, leaving no more trace than the trail of the serpent on a rock. Or, to take Marcus Aurelius' simile,

"the mind is dyed by its thoughts." Rich, colorful souls are not always the learned or the famed. There are those that are impregnated by the fast dyes of veracity and ingenuousness. Indeed our very word *genuine* describes a person whose genius (the *genii*, or divinity within him) shines out. He is himself and not another—unique, distinct, original, unrepeatable.

I am far from contending here for that stark and heroic mental individualism which refuses the authority of mastership and scorns the instruction of the ages. The old sin of *hybris*, or fortification in an insufficient self-sufficiency, is the caricature of character. The line is finely drawn between humility and subserviency, but it is all important in our mental geography. Like the imaginary line called the equator, it divides the beginnings of the plus from the beginning of the minus. Subserviency is a process of progressive abandonment of independence. In its outward servile manifestations we are familiar enough with it, and it stirs in every self-respecting man a protest of disgust, even when he himself is the person deferred to. No great soul ever wished subserviency. It is the prerogative of tyrants and martinets. In its more subtle mental forms this vice of subserviency is like a corroding acid that eats away good tissue or turns it into flabbiness. The great danger is in its superficial resemblance to humility of spirit, which is a conscious, reasoned appropriation of superior doctrine or example for the sake of strengthening our own intellectual and moral tissue.

Sometimes we can realise better the operation of these subtle forces in the individual by seeing them in their effect on society at large. Plato set us the example of this social magnifying process in his *Republic*, where he considers the state as the individual "writ large." Now various societies (perhaps Bolshevik Russia is the most convincing illustration just now) have become poisoned by swallowing unassimilable political

food. The simile of heady wine on weak stomachs is commoner. But the simile is a matter of indifference. The fact is the loss of power to draw correct and constructive conclusions, the failure of the response of sober sense to the deluge of theory, with resulting experiments of "perfect democracies," "pure societies," "the purged nation" and the like. The end is a people self-deceived, puffed-up, swollen with spiritual indigestion, confusing virtuosity with virtue, calling the whim of demagogues the will of God. I confess that this is the vice "writ large." In our individual lives this hideous condition is not revealed. But I still maintain that the relaxation in us of the constant voluntary control of opinion poured on us so copiously from all sides, opens the way to the deterioration of individual character, and thereby makes us each, in so far as we yield to this insidious temptation, a less steady and constructive factor in society.

Some centuries ago an official of the English Treasury, named Sir Thomas Gresham, announced the economic "law" that when currencies of differing standards of value compete in circulation, the baser or cheaper metal always drives the other out. Men spend their cheapest and hoard their dearest. Mr. Mackenzie King in his recent work on *Industry and Humanity*, has carried Gresham's Law into the industrial world. Under what he calls the "Law of Competing Standards," he sees the baser standards always driving out the higher ones where the two are allowed to compete. When the tenement invades a region the cottage cannot survive; when the coolie takes the job the white man leaves; when the sweated wage enters, the decent living wage goes. Mr. King sounds the warning against letting our concern for humanity grow cold and die under the pressure of the materialistic, mechanistic industrialism where the heartless law of the competing standard works its inevitable degradation.

Accepting Mr. King's lead, we may venture to carry Gresham's Law into the moral-intellectual world too. Integrity and charlatanism cannot exist here side by side. When rumor, undigested opinion, complacent repetition, masks itself as honest judgment we have entered on that fatal path of least resistance whose descent to the Avernus of mental inertia is so easy. The muscles of the mind become atrophied. We pay our intellectual debt in debased coin. It is only by resolute, unflagging insistence on mental integrity that we can combat the sinister trend of the "Law of Competing Standards" in this important sphere of responsibility. The gold standard of the mind must be preserved.

This is the difference, then, between genuine humility and subserviency. The former recognizes all the worth of teachers past and present. Authority has its literal meaning of "that which increases power in another." The expert is not scorned, but studied. Tradition is sifted, not contemned. But in it all the constant, assimilative, synergetic will of the recipient is working. What is appropriated is really made *proprium*—one's own. Subserviency, on the other hand is inert. It is a cheap social currency forced into circulation. It is a masquerading in borrowed and vicarious virtue.

It is a very difficult thing to pursue the path of mental honesty in the midst of so much hypocrisy and lax assertiveness. Aside from the constant temptation of the competing lower standard in society about us, there is an inward solicitation to the ease of the short cut of pronouncement. Patience, the sovereign virtue, is discounted in our modern life. Quick results are applauded. The Italian philosopher's counsel to learn "to sleep on the pillow of doubt" goes unheeded. But we deceive ourselves if we lay to our souls the flattering unction that ideas can come by any other way than incubation. Lands, houses, money, business we can inherit in passive recep-

tivity, but not the goods of mind and will. Here Goethe's keen paradox is true: "What thou hast inherited from thy fathers, that must thou labor daily to acquire."

In this formula of unremitting, honest, intellectual toil we come to the very bed-rock mental character. We hear much, in these days of industrial upheaval and speculative unrest, of the need of returning from agitation to labor as the cure for the evils of extravagance, idleness and despair. And the counsel is wise. But beneath is the deeper and wiser counsel of a change of heart. The social level cannot rise above the level of the individuals that compose it. Lord Haldane truly said: "Education is the foundation of all industrial reconstruction, of all social reform, of all democracy." We have hardly begun to realize as yet what education is. We are not even convinced that it begins at home, but still labor under the delusion that somehow the uneducated can educate. We hang pedagogical tags on our breasts like medals, or suspend gold keys from our watch chains like amulets to ward off ignorance, while vanity and convention, impatient rivalries and dealing in intellectual "margins" spoil the habit of honest deliveries.

Let us be frank with ourselves. We have no virtue that is not our own. The vicarious virtues in which we deck ourselves are like cut flowers worn in the button-hole. The true adornment of spirit, though it be the tiniest and most modest floweret, is rooted within, grown from our soil, watered by our

humors, brought to blossom by the light that shines in us and not on us. My mind reverts again to the simile of currency. "Be honest brokers," reads a verse from one of the apocryphal gospels. We are constantly passing ideas as tokens of intellectual value. If those ideas are not ours but another's, we are passing counterfeits. The contributions of the past, the marvelously valuable deeds and words of heroes and sages, the courage of the pioneers, the inspiration of the creators, the wisdom of the philosophers, the sacrifice of the martyrs, are works done in their day and generation. Poor we are, indeed, and pitiable, if we fail of the instruction and inspiration of their example. But our day demands its own virtues. Merely to cite and celebrate what the great ones of the past have done is to offer in payment of our obligations not virtue but only the cancelled vouchers of virtue.

Finally, mental integrity is not only the most beautiful adornment and the most solemn duty of man, but it is also one of his greatest satisfactions. No cheap and easy reputation for cleverness can solace a man for the loss of the approbation of his own nature. We must live with conscience as a constant guest. If there is strife about the inward hearth, the very well springs of our life are poisoned; but if "our hearts condemn us not," there is, whatever be our gifts or lack of gifts, a purity, a poise, a peace of mind that make us, potentially at least, partakers with all the good and the great who have lived.

THE RUSSIAN PROBLEM IN THE UNITED STATES

BY ALEXANDER PETRUNKEVITCH*

Few problems have been brought so forcibly before the public in this country as that of the proper method of handling the "red" menace. The time when the Italian anarchists occupied the front pages of the newspapers is long past. Instead, the Russian Bolsheviks together with their adherents and sympathizers in America now hold the attention and rightly, too, not only because Bolshevism is a menace to all democratic institutions and principles, but also because the ignorance of the American people concerning the correct status of their alien residents makes the entire problem quite new to them.

Who had thought of foreigners as of either future friends or enemies of the American people? Obedience to law seemed and still seems all that is required of them. The exigencies of life make Americans of foreign children, without respect to blood or family ties, but leave their parents and other adults too often outside the pale, misunderstood and misunderstanding, unassisted in their struggle for the betterment of their social condition and unappreciative of the advantages offered by the great Republic of the New World. They feel the throbbing pulse of life only as a sickening fever, few fortunes among them being able to withstand its ravages and still fewer to enter into its creative current as component elements.

Yet their desire to become part of the people, to merge as it were in the national life, is great, for these men and women came from the old country

with a vague hope of finding not only a New World but New Life as well. It is futile to maintain that they came to this country as guests only, came to take advantage of the opportunities offered them, came of their own free will and that they are therefore welcome to leave if the life here is not to their liking. Even if this were true, what advantage can America derive from these living, advertising agents of disappointment, of hatred, who, returning to their old country, go about from place to place spreading a feeling of enmity instead of friendship, of distrust instead of mutual understanding? Too late to change those who have been caught in the whirlpool of Bolshevism! Their case indeed is hopeless since, like starving people in need of food, they were proffered poison in its stead.

But the case of these immigrants is not simply one of come and go. Few among them came altogether of their own volition. Though the final decision to sever connection with the old world may have been made by each individual as a voluntary impulse, the sources of this impulse were beyond their control, often, even, beyond their consciousness. They are pawns in the hands of Destiny playing at a game with Empire builders. Religious intolerance, social inequality, economic oppression, political slavery, enforced ignorance, these all combined against their making a decent living abroad and made of them men without a country but possessing an acute sense of their wrongs. Lured to the hospitable shores of the United States by visions of freedom and prosperity and by tales of equality of opportunity and of achievement, they bring with them a heritage and experience of a kind differing so vastly from that of the people

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of this country as in itself to constitute a serious handicap to success.

Once here, they remain strangers. The greatest asset toward winning success, their greatest need at home, education, is denied them. Night schools, although ostensibly for the benefit and instruction of uneducated and foreign workmen, are as they are at present constituted in reality of very little help. The Russian workman has first to learn English before he can understand instruction in other subjects; but even in this, he becomes quickly discouraged. He is a stranger to the teacher who does not know nor take into account his peculiar psychology. A few days, perhaps a few weeks of most strenuous work in the evening after the day's work at the factory, and the Russian workman gives up in despair. But even if he finds courage to continue, what a loss of time such study entails! For his whole time is devoted to the study of English alone, while he has to wait a year or more before he can begin the courses of instruction in subjects vital to his trade. Meanwhile he remains in the ranks of the less skilled and consequently less paid workmen. His high hopes have become a mockery.

Then there awakens the desire among these foreign working men to organize and to start schools on their own initiative, with the aid of more congenial teachers and in more accustomed surroundings. Then come the "red" orators, seizing their opportunity and picturing the evils of modern society in vivid colors from experiences often true but narrow and one-sided, and with an interpretation born of hatred. Then appear patriotic Americans with a simplified formula of Americanization, consisting in advice coupled with persuasion, and at times with indirect coercion, to become naturalized citizens. Then come the police with their usual clumsiness, arresting often innocent bystanders and deluded simpletons in place of the shrewd leaders and persuasive propagandists. And then, with all

illusions destroyed and nothing learned except the reverse side of democratic rule and capitalistic society, the future rulers of the Soviets and of the destinies of Russia, even perhaps, of the entire world, return to where they came from, vowing vengeance on society, an easy prey to unscrupulous schemers.

Few Americans realize how many Russians there are in this country and what a chance to make permanent friendship with working Russia has been lost, perhaps forever, through neglect to get acquainted in time with their needs. There are at this time in the United States about four hundred thousand real Russians (Great Russians, White Russians, and Little Russians or Ukrainians) not to mention those of other nationalities, citizens of the former Russia. The majority live in cities and factory towns. There are at least sixty thousand in New York City alone while there are thousands more in all the larger cities of the Eastern states. Their organizations exist for the most part for purposes of mutual help and education and even the unions of Russian Workers, originally anarchistic and now Bolshevik, maintain schools for the teaching of English, geography, arithmetic and history, and little libraries made up of Russian books of various kinds. All have sought lecturers on various subjects, but have seldom been able to get any, partly owing to the scarcity of educated Russians in America, and partly to lack of interest on the part of the well-to-do, in the welfare of the toiling masses. Politically the Russians belong to various parties. Many organizations, however, have kept outside of politics, drawing their numbers from several different parties. Such for example are *Nauka* with all its branches and *Prosvetchnie*. Religious fraternities have served to unite the more conservative elements, while more recently the Union of Russian Peasants has been organized in various eastern cities. It may be

added that the number of Bolshevik is much greater than that of anti-Bolshevik Russians, the majority being factory workers.

The need for educational work among Russian workers in America was early recognized by their better educated compatriots. Lack of men and lack of money were the two factors which made such work for a long time impossible. But the war, and later the Russian revolution, brought many educated Russians to the United States. Some of them were more interested in their own political affairs than in the condition of Russian workmen here, but all were aware that no influence could be exerted over the workman unless their thirst for education was satisfied. When, following the Bolshevik *coup d'état* in Russia, the Federation of Russian Organizations was called into existence in the United States for the purpose of consolidating Russian non-Bolshevik elements, of strengthening the bonds of friendship between non-Bolshevik Russia and the United States, and of influencing the course of events in Russia itself, a meeting of the Federation took place in New York City. The chief non-political problems presented for discussion were, (1) education, (2) medical aid, and (3) legal aid. Although the leaders tried hard to keep the political importance of the meeting in the foreground, the only question which did not call fourth any real discord was that of education. Nothing, however, was done at this meeting because of lack of funds, while at the second meeting in the winter of 1918 the Federation was itself in mortal danger of complete disruption. In order to save the situation the Central Executive Committee was reorganized and an attempt was made to start educational work at once and to leave politics in peace. The Federation opened a night school at its headquarters in New York City in accordance with a program worked out by the President, Petrunkevitch, and Secretary, Galatzky, of the reorganized Executive

Committee. Efforts were at once made to secure financial assistance, but Americanization seemed by that time no longer urgent while the few rich Russians who might have helped, were without assurance as to the stability of their own fortunes. After considerable disappointment we were finally so fortunate as to obtain a grant of \$10,000 from the Carnegie Foundation for educational work among Russian workmen. Certain Russian corporations and co-operative societies as well as individuals followed suit, adding over \$6,000 with the same stipulation that the money be used for educational purposes only.

It soon became evident that the Bolshevik workers distrusted the Federation too thoroughly to accept, without suspicion and misgivings as to their intentions, its teachers and lecturers. It was therefore decided at a meeting of the Executive Committee, to sever educational work completely from its connection with the Federation and to turn this work over to a central, educational institution which was given the name, "the Russian Collegiate Institute of New York" with headquarters at 219 Second Avenue, (former headquarters of the Federation). The night school of the Federation was turned over to the Collegiate Institute. A constitution was adopted and work begun on a much larger scale than heretofore. And now, after a few months of this work, it is possible to make some estimate of what has been done, what may be expected in the future and what could be accomplished if larger funds were available.

The purpose of the Russian Collegiate Institute is to offer to Russian workmen within a small radius of New York City (a limitation due to paucity of funds) useful knowledge which will enable them to better their economic and social position regardless of whether they return eventually to Russia or remain permanently in this country, and thus to make of them more useful members of society and friends of demo-

cratic institutions. All political subjects, all reference to politics, are strictly forbidden. Night school and lectures are open to all who desire to study, absolutely regardless of political affiliation. In the night school English is obligatory. All other subjects are taught in Russian.

The institute is divided into three departments, (1) preparatory or night school, (2) academic, and (3) technical. The night school prepares the workman for entrance into such institutions as Cooper Union. Instruction is given two hours every evening except Saturday and Sunday. The subjects taught are: English, Russian, geography, history, arithmetic, algebra, trigonometry, physics and chemistry. The teachers are educated Russian men and women of various professional pursuits, and the students are divided into classes in accordance with their knowledge. This department maintains also a teacher in a night school in Brooklyn, and recommends teachers to outside organizations which apply to the Institute and are able to pay for the work of the teacher.

A much more important department from many points of view is the academic. It offers courses and individual lectures on various subjects, in New York and as well in all the larger cities within easy reach by train. A number of distinguished Russians take part in this work, including such men as General Oberoutcheff, former Military Governor of Ukraina under Kerensky, General Jakhontoff, Baron Korff, former Assistant Governor General of Finland and Professor of Constitutional Law at the University of Helsingfors, Dr. Kovalsky, a distinguished author, Mr. Sikorsky, the aeroplane designer and constructor, Professor Barodin, former High Commissioner in the Special Mission to the United States, Professor Vinogradoff, and others. Of the courses already announced and in progress it suffices to mention Russian history, history of civilization, co-operation and biology.

The only hours when courses and lectures of this kind may be given, are those free from work and from night school, i. e., during Saturday and Sunday, afternoon and evening. This naturally limits considerably the work of the department, especially if we remember that the same conditions apply to lectures in cities other than New York as well. On the other hand it brings instruction within reach of the Russian workman at the only time when he is actually free, and when it is not available elsewhere.

The technical department offers special courses in subjects of immediate value to one desirous of increasing the efficiency of his work. Lack of adequate funds and equipment naturally limit the scope and adequacy of this department, especially in comparison with the training available to English speaking workmen in American technical institutions. Instead of attempting to create its own laboratories, the Institute seeks the co-operation of such American institutions as are willing to grant the privilege of using their equipment. Quite particularly the Y. M. C. A. has shown a sincere desire to be of assistance and has co-operated generously. Shop mathematics, mechanical drawing, some of the most important chapters in agriculture, in applied biology, etc., are always popular, attracting many pupils.

In all departments the work is increasing rapidly, demonstrating the great need for precisely this type of work. The most important difference between the work of the Russian Collegiate Institute and that of any American institution is its flexibility in functioning as an agency for lectures and courses given under its auspices before a number of Russian organizations in a number of cities. But for this, the work would naturally be limited to a very small group of pupils in a single city and would fail of its main object. As it is, it has created an interest in study among wide circles of Russian work-

men. Our lectures are attended by men and women without regard to their political associations, who are in consequence growing tired of attending other meetings offering nothing but "red" talk and who are demanding more and more the opportunity to acquire knowledge. Those who felt hatred for everything that is not proletarian, for everything bearing the stamp of bourgeois, begin to realize their own shortcomings and to place more trust in educated people. A bond is beginning to form between them and those men and institutions which are helping them to satisfy their greatest needs, a bond uniting them invisibly with all that is best in the democratic civilization of the United

States, a new understanding which is slowly changing mistrust and hatred into appreciation of the value of knowledge and citizenship.

But the work demands devotion, patience and money. It must needs be given up unless the American public comes to our aid. We are already spending on an average of \$2,000 per month, but we could double the number of our lectures and reach a far greater number of cities if we possessed the means. In closing my article I therefore address an urgent appeal to all who realize the value of work of this kind to come to the aid of the Russian Collegiate Institute.

A PLEA FOR AMNESTY

BY EARLE M. HUMPHREYS.

DURING the war period, most Americans regarded the suppression of minority anti-war opinion in whatever guise this latter obtruded itself on the national consciousness, as almost a self-evident duty of patriotism. Loyalty to America's cause, for the sake of military expediency, could not afford, they believed, to tolerate such heresies as Christian non-resistance, philosophical pacifism or international Socialism. But this anti-war minority insisted upon remaining articulate and active. It too possessed an ineradicable loyalty to a cause in whose interests it demanded its constitutional guarantees of liberty of conscience, free speech and free press even during the stress of war times.

Hence the national crisis, born of a conflict outside the borders of the land, precipitated an internal conflict as well. The National Government met the difficult situation by temporarily suspending the traditional American liberties. The Espionage Act was passed to silence the civilian heretics. The Army court-martial system, later roundly denounced

even by military officers, was worked overtime to circumvent the objections of the soldier recalcitrants. Prison for both civilian and military offenders became the only acceptable panacea for internal dissension.

With some of the effects of these measures I now propose to deal, by relating, in as fair a spirit as possible and without any desire to provoke controversy, my experiences as a conscientious objector in a Southern Army camp, and later behind the walls at Fort Leavenworth.

At the outset it is necessary to discuss briefly the provisions made by the War Department for the treatment of conscientious objectors. Due to the efforts of certain American liberals, the Secretary of War announced what was ostensibly a broad-minded policy concerning this problem. Any conscript claiming objections to war was to be exempt from enforced military duty until he had been examined by a special Board of Inquiry appointed by the President. The function of this Presi-

dential Commission was judicial. The objectors were to be examined separately in private hearings and the insincere ones eliminated. It will be seen immediately what an impossible task this was. There were thousands of objectors. Hence the Board, because of the limited time at its disposal, was rushed in its investigations. The period of interview for each objector barely averaged from ten to fifteen minutes. Such an investigation is patently insufficient for passing upon the soul-honesty of any individual. Unfortunately there is no "litmus-paper" test for the conscience and motives of men. It was inevitable then that this Board would become entangled in gross injustice and discrimination.

But it is not alone in the insufficiency of the Board of Inquiry, nor yet in the announced policy of the War Department, that we find grounds for the most valid criticism. Rather do we object to the manner in which the War Department acted in camps, guard-houses and prisons. After the Secretary of War had announced his policy for the treatment of objectors, his Department adopted a more or less *laissez faire* attitude. The orders were sent to the commanding generals of the various camps. In many instances, it was left to the discretion of these thoroughly militarized and hence unsympathetic individuals whether or not an objector should be court-martialed and imprisoned; in spite of the fact that the orders unequivocally stated that no objector was obligated to any kind of military service until his status had been passed upon by the Board of Inquiry. Furthermore, the actual handling of the objectors was usually done by non-commissioned officers and privates. Often these individuals were the only representatives of the military machine with whom the conscientious objector came in direct contact. Many of these under-officers were ignorant, unimaginative fellows whose mental capacity absolutely precluded their understanding

the position of a man who insistently refused to perform military duty.

In the foregoing I have attempted to sketch briefly and simply a background for the thousand and one brutalities that were perpetrated upon conscientious objectors. This statement in general explains the quite evident mismanagement of the problem. Yet the explanation, simple and elemental as it is, is neither thorough nor comprehensive. Other casual elements enter actively into a discussion of the objectors' hardships at the hands of the military. Most of the commissioned officers were inexcusably intolerant. They evinced an antagonism and open hatred of the objectors. The non-commissioned officers and sentries, unconsciously influenced by their superiors' attitude, gave vent to their brute instincts by joyfully abusing and manhandling the recalcitrants.

In illustration of these contentions, I may point to occurrences at Camp Wadsworth, South Carolina, to which concentration camp I was assigned. Here, for some time after our arrival in camp, the officers appeared to be entirely unfamiliar with the conscientious objector problem. Consequently we were conveniently classified as "slackers and pro-Germans" and instead of being segregated in an objector colony as the War Department orders specified, we were placed separately in company organizations and attempts made to "break" us there. One man was bayoneted twice at the base of the spine; a number of us were subjected to painful though not serious beatings at the hands of armed guards; some were given the "bread and water" cure and the handcuff and leg-shackle treatment. There were other instances of what I choose to call cheap bullying and petty persecutions, too numerous to mention in detail.

I do not enumerate these happenings to elicit the sympathy of the reader. I can truthfully say that few objectors demanded for themselves a greater measure of comfort and safety than was

the lot of the soldier on the other side. But these episodes do demonstrate the undeniable fact that the commissioned and non-commissioned officers in this particular camp were not thoroughly familiar with War Department orders which prescribed that no objector should be given punitive treatment of any sort. And when the military men were familiar with the order, many of them showed not the slightest inclination to obey it. We then have the absurdly anomalous situation of officers attempting to force the objectors into subservience to the military legal code, one of whose general orders they themselves were violating; since they consistently disregarded the commands of their superior officers, the Secretary of War and the President of the United States.

Compared with other army camps, Camp Wadsworth registered a low percentage of objector courts-martial. These cases, however, are significant. Eight of us were tried and received sentences ranging from five to twenty years. Included in this number were three international Socialists, two religious objectors and three non-citizens who had been illegally conscripted.

Certain irregularities appear in these court-martial trials. My case for example is, in the main, typical of all. The technical charge on which I was haled before the military court was that of "disobedience of orders." I had refused to sign my name to two record form blanks which required my signature "as a soldier." Whether I was foolish or fanatical—right or wrong—to carry my objections to such an extreme is not materially important. The fact remains that in my refusal I was clearly within my legal rights under the statement of the War Department of the date of May 31, 1918. As my alleged offense was committed about July 20th, it is obvious that I and the camp authorities were bound by this order. On July 31st, however, a new order was issued which contained some minor amendments. One of these was to the

effect that supposed conscientious objectors were required to sign all papers necessary to complete their records as conscripted citizens. The camp authorities immediately pounced upon this new order, which was issued fully ten days after my alleged offense and was not retroactive, and used it as a legal basis for preferring charges against me.

Furthermore, in connection with each of the charges there was but a single witness against me. This witness, an army major, swore to testimony which, under oath, I completely contradicted. My memory is clear and vivid concerning the events of my refusal to sign the record cards and, since the major had thousands of soldiers and a number of conscientious objectors appearing before him, it is plausible to suppose that his memory of any particular case could not be as accurate as that of the man who was so closely concerned in the transaction. Aside from this, it is a common custom of courts of law, I believe, that, when there is conflicting testimony, the word of a single witness for the prosecution is not sufficient to convict. Nevertheless the officer's word was accepted and I went to prison obviously to serve a ten-year sentence.

My case, relatively unimportant as an isolated incident, nevertheless illustrates the dubious procedure used by officers throughout the country to "railroad" objectors to prison. That such conveniently irregular methods were indulged in is frankly admitted by the War Department in an official statement relative to the release in January, 1919, of 113 objectors from Fort Leavenworth, in which statement these men are described as follows: "Group I includes those men whom the Board of Inquiry has heretofore examined and found to be conscientious in their objections. Group II includes those men who were not brought before the Board of Inquiry prior to their court-martial conviction." The implication is apparent that the prison sentences of these

individuals were not in strict accordance with the law.

By December, 1918, there were gathered together at the United States Disciplinary Barracks, at Fort Leavenworth, nearly six hundred objectors. This contingent included almost every type of objector from Quaker and Holy Jumper to Syndicalist and Philosophical Anarchist. Many of these prisoners were men of unusual intellectual attainments. Prominent among them were a Rhodes Scholar and university professor, many college graduates, a lawyer, a poet, several talented artists and capable labor leaders. The religious objectors in the main were quiet, inoffensive farmer lads, extremist non-resistants. This whole objector group then, together with two thousand or more non-criminal military prisoners, composed an unusual class of prison inmates. Supplementing this unwonted situation, was the fact that the prison was congested far beyond capacity, both as regards the physical facilities of the prison building and the executive capabilities of the officers in charge. Such a condition of affairs, unforeseen and hence unplanned for by the War Department, was bound to develop disastrously.

Soldier prisoners who had committed some minor breach of military discipline, conscientious objectors, confirmed criminals, sex perverts—all were carelessly herded together in living conditions that were unspeakable. People who have never endured a prison experience cannot possibly conceive the loathsomeness, the utter filth of jail existence. It brutalizes and degrades. It does not reform criminals nor prevent crime. Rather does it create criminals and induce crime. At the Disciplinary Barracks, the physical conditions of living were neither sanitary nor healthful. Venereal cases were unsegregated and no systematic inspection attempted to detect new infections. Vice of an unspeakable character was rampant. The prison labor performed by the men was

deadening and monotonous. The food was neither clean nor well cooked. Yet this is the institution that Secretary of War Baker, after a cursory tour of inspection, reported as being a "model prison." Little do these investigators and departmental heads know about the actual conditions existing in the institutions they so complacently cover with the official coat of "whitewash."

Affected by such wretched conditions of living; unnaturally restrained by an irrational system of so-called "discipline"; and most of all deeply resentful of the injustices that had universally been accorded them by an already discredited court-martial system, this mob of prisoners was bound to revolt sooner or later. An outbreak was imminent but its nature or direction could not be prophesied. Suddenly, during January, 1919, it came in the form of race rioting. A burly negro had assaulted a white youth. The latter's "gang" retaliated by catching the negro the next morning and beating him into insensibility. Later on I had occasion to talk with the leader of this gang and hear his side of the story. According to him, the negro was a huge, powerful black who could whip single-handed two or three average prisoners. Time and again he had attacked white prisoners. Often he was caught red-handed in these acts. Yet the executive officer failed to punish the negro for his offenses. "So," concluded the gang leader, "we had to take the law into our own hands." The gangsters story thus placed the fault with the executive officer.

Wherever the blame is laid, this incident was the signal for the starting of a veritable orgy of blood-lust and race hatred that transformed the jail enclosure into a miniature battlefield. For four days gangs of white prisoners would corner single blacks and beat them mercilessly. Long pent up energies of these youthful prisoners burst forth in this furious, bloody debauch. To many of the prisoners any excite-

ment was a welcome diversion from the monotonous and depressing prison routine and, with the mob spirit active, it did not trouble the consciences of individuals that the outbreak assumed such a vicious and violent form. It should not be necessary to state that none of the conscientious objectors were implicated in this rioting, except for the few negro religious objectors who were among the unfortunate victims of the outrages of the whites.

To make matters worse, the executive officer on several occasions appeared before large groups of prisoners and sneeringly dared them to do their worst. Besides, negroes were purposely assigned to quarters in the most violent cell wings. This was a puerile, taunting show of authority on the part of the officers, and the rioters reacted to it by becoming increasingly sullen and rebellious, more than ever determined to continue their excesses.

Finally the prison officials, determined at all costs to quell the disturbance, instituted the "iron rule" which is the strictest and most repressive form of prison discipline. This capped the climax. No longer was the enemy described in terms of skin-color. It became a matter of clothes. The khaki of the military prison keeper distinguished the common enemy. The whole prison population, strangely unified, came out in open revolt against the prison régime itself. Over night the violent, bloody race conflict changed into a thoroughly non-resistant, pacific strike. So complete and sudden was the transformation that it seemed miraculous. One morning the men stood in the prison yard, quietly folded their arms, and determinedly, even laughingly, refused to work.

It is impossible here to depict in detail the incidents of this strike and the events that followed. The results of the strike, however, may be briefly enumerated. The commandant granted the strike demands of the men and recognized a Prisoners' Grievance Com-

mittee. For some time there was at least a semblance of prison democracy which was temporarily and partially successful. Many prisoners received reductions in their sentences and were released. The remaining ones were granted privileges that ameliorated somewhat their unhappy life. This improved situation prevailed for some months but the latest news from Fort Leavenworth discloses the fact that all vestiges of prison democracy have been destroyed by the present commandant. The old repressive methods are in force and conditions obtain which are as evil in their effect on the imprisoned soldier as ever.

In this narrative I have merely touched upon the salient features of the camp and prison experiences of conscientious objectors. It does not, cannot begin to tell the whole story. It would take a master's pen to picture the colorful details of prison life and the unquestioned hardships endured by the objectors.

I have made no mention, for example, of the so-called "absolutist" objectors—the group which has throughout been most consistent in its stand. The lot of the absolutists has been the hardest of all. Refusing all military or alternative service, their principles further forbade their performance of prison labor. Extremists and fanatics you may choose to call them but their staunch courage and unswerving loyalty to conviction is rivaled only by the most noteworthy acts of heroism of soldiers on the battlefield. In camp, guardhouse and prison, these men passed through period after period of cruel mistreatment. They were beaten, bayoneted, and, in certain extreme cases hung by the neck with a rope until they became unconscious. In prison they endured month after month of solitary confinement in the dark cell on fortnightly periods of bread and water; the while being chained to the bars nine hours a day and seven days a week. Three of them died directly as a result of their "dungeon"

treatment. Only last September, fully ten months after the signing of the armistice, this same absolutist group was again subjected to the bread and water treatment and other petty indignities at Fort Douglas where most of them are still confined.

The problem then still exists. The only adequate solution is dictated by the sense of justice and fair treatment that is claimed to be traditionally American: it is amnesty for all war-time prisoners, both civilian and military.

War-time patriotism was fundamentally a form of intense religious ortho-

doxy. An institutionalized orthodox religion cannot allow within its membership a minority that questions the tenets of the faith; or it ceases to exist as such and becomes merely an open forum. But the open forum idea is the essence of Americanism, at least during peace times. It is high time that we restore the American open forum where the minority has full liberty of expressing unorthodox opinions. The first and most important step in this direction is the release of all religious and political prisoners.

A MISUNDERSTOOD SAINT

BY ROYAL J. DAVIS

FOR a saint to be remembered chiefly because of a heathen custom accidentally associated with his name must be the most galling of fates, but nothing less has befallen the Christian martyr known as Saint Valentine. Here is the story of the tragedy as related in the *Century Dictionary Cyclopaedia of Names*:

His festival was observed on the 14th of February before the time of Gregory the Great. The custom of sending valentines had its origin in a heathen practice connected with the worship of Juno on or about this day: its association with the saint is wholly accidental.

Even when we make allowance for the artificial poignancy imparted by the Century's characteristically crisp style, the matter is sufficiently painful. To be burned at the stake and thereafter revered as a hero—who would not cheerfully undergo such martyrdom? But to be put to all the trouble of being a martyr, and then to be remembered as the patron saint of the little shop around the corner with the windows full of picture postcards—the stoutest spirit might quail before such a career.

The horrible question arises, how-

ever: Would the good saint have been remembered at all if it hadn't been for the coincidence that mixed his name up with a pretty custom? On the other hand, may not the survival of Valentine Day owe something to its association with so hallowed a personage? This would not be the only instance of the defiance of time by two things together, each of which had no use for the other.

In any case, Saint Valentine's martyrdom—assuming that he continues to take an interest in mundane affairs—really began with his death. Many saints, secular as well as religious, are honored for performing greater achievements than they actually did; he is honored for his supposed part in an activity of which he would probably have been ashamed.

But does not the lesson of his fame lie just here? Who shall assume to say that an ordinary saint could win his halo by a better deed than that of inspiring people to send greetings to one another at the period at which the Christmas spirit has worn rather thin? Saint Valentine might not have felt this way

about it, but may there not be lessons for even saints to learn? Martyrs have always been so sure that they knew better than their persecutors what was worth while. If one ventured to hint a fault in martyrs, it would be this celestial serenity. They have always appealed from the present to the future with the utmost confidence, with almost an assumption of foreknowledge, indeed, which was not calculated to assuage the passions of their tormentors. Yet look at what has happened to Saint Valentine. The self-sacrificing labors of his earthly service are forgotten, and the sanctity of his name appropriated for a merry-making. He may not have needed the lesson, but there have been saints who could have meditated with profit upon the way in which Time rearranged our toys. We must give ourselves to

the task that summons us, but we may do it with a wise modesty that refuses to say what the world will finally call small and what great.

If, then, Saint Valentine suffers from the most trying of crosses, that of being misunderstood,—his suffering being sharpened now and then by the ribaldry of certain of the missives sent in his name—he may also be finding the comfort of a philosopher in the reflection that he misunderstood as well as was misunderstood. Perhaps he may allow himself a smile at the fancy that if he were to live his life over again, he would look at things a bit differently. That being out of the question, he has the satisfaction of knowing that the very misunderstanding of which he is the victim has placed him upon a special pedestal.

BOOK REVIEWS

CIVILIZATION. By Georges Duhamel. Translated by R. S. Brooks. The Century Company. Pp. 288.

The clarity, the delicacy of allusion, the forceful neatness which so commend the trained French writer appear to particular advantage, even in translation, in these sketches by a surgeon who is reflecting, sometimes ironically but never pessimistically, under his four years' experiences in the war. He has observed many types of men in the emergency tents and in the hospitals at home, the wounded soldier, the doctor, the official whose mind (even in France) is in his gold braid, the orderly, the keeper of the morgue. It is because he has seen these people as human beings that his pages so impress one with the tragic futility and wickedness of a system of things which brings men to the passes here described.

Details there are which do not make pleasant reading any more than in Barbusse's *Under Fire* or Latzko's *Men in War*.^{*} Some times there is a flash of genial humor;

but most often the humor is satiric. A good illustration of the latter sort is the story of Rabot, the timorous little laborer, brought up as a charity-child and underfed, who has evidently never learned how to laugh. "One tried to imagine what his face would look like if it smiled, but it was not made for such things." And then the lady in green visited the ward to cheer up the wounded. She stood at the foot of Rabot's bed and spoke: 'You are a brave man! What recognition ought we not give you! But you already know the greatest recompense of all, Glory! The rapturous ardor of combat! The exquisite anguish of bounding forward with bayonet glittering in the sun * * *!' Then occurred something altogether unexpected. Rabot ceased to resemble himself, all his features drew together * * * A hoarse voice issued in jerks from his skeleton-like chest, and all the world could see that Rabot was laughing.

What the author has learned from the war is summed up in the closing sketch. He draws a picture of the care expended to make the "A. C. A." the most perfect thing in the line of military ambulance. On the

^{*} Suppressed during the war, this masterly work has been restored to circulation.

operating tables and at the stretchers are black troops drafted from their homes in backward Asia and Africa.

"My glance met that of one of the blacks and I had a sensation of sickness. It was a calm, profound gaze like that of a child or a young dog. The savage was turning his head gently from right to left and looking at the extraordinary objects around him. His dark pupils lingered lightly over all the marvelous details of this workshop for repairing the human machine. And these eyes, which betrayed no thought, were none the less disquieting. For one moment I was stupid enough to think, 'How astonished he must be!' But this silly thought left me, and I no longer felt anything but an insurmountable shame. * * *

"All these things which surrounded me were made for a good purpose. It was civilization's reply to itself, the correction it was giving to its own destructive eruptions; it took all this complexity to efface a little of the immense harm engendered by the age of the machines. I thought once more of the inexplicable look of the savage. * * *

"Civilization! the true Civilization—I often think of it. It is a marble statue on a barren hill, it is a man saying, 'Return good for evil!' But for nearly two thousand years people have done nothing but repeat these things over and over, and the princes and the priests have far too many interests in the age as it is to conceive other things like them."

"As it is"—there is the trouble, is it not? Read the book when in danger of lapsing into contentment with things as they are.

H. N.

EDUCATION BY VIOLENCE. By Henry S. Canby. The Macmillan Company. Pp. 233.

These papers on war experiences and reflections were written either in the closing months of the struggle or immediately after the armistice. They deserve reading for their reminder of the faiths that stirred such patriots as the writer in the days when the wave of moral enthusiasm provoked by the war was at its crest. That spirit is subsiding; and many a hope for the days of reconstruction seems in danger of inglorious stranding. "Fine minds have responded finely to the war, base minds basely," says Professor Canby. For suggestions as to how to make continuing use of the finer responses, the last three papers of his book are specially to be commended. "Education by Violence," "When Johnny Comes Home," and "War's Ending."

H. N.

REFLECTIONS ON WAR AND DEATH. By Dr. Sigmund Freud. Authorized translation by A. A. Boull and Alfred B. Kuttner. Moffatt Yard. Pp. 72.

In these papers Dr. Freud interprets two aspects of the psychology of war in the light of his well-known theory of the covert wish. He is profoundly saddened by war-time revelations of human short-coming, and laments particularly that science has lost her dispassionate impartiality. It is in no cynical spirit that he writes: "The individual citizen can prove with dismay in this war what occasionally thrust itself upon him in times of peace, namely, that the state forbids him to do wrong not because it wishes to do away with wrongdoing, but because it wishes to monopolize it, like salt and tobacco. A state at war makes free of every act that would dishonor the individual."*

He finds Consolation (?) in the reflection that in our pain at "the uncivilized behavior of our fellow world-citizens," we are the victims of illusion. In reality, "men have not sunk as deeply as we feared because they never really rose as high as we had believed." He means that the processes of civilization have simply inhibited outward acts but have not transformed the inner springs of good and evil. Hence the violence with which the suppressed impulses erupt in war. The paper is worth reading even though it offers no special therapeutic. "Perhaps only later developments will succeed in changing these conditions. But a little more truthfulness and straightforward dealing on all sides, both in the relation of people towards each other, and between themselves and those who govern them, might smooth the way for such a change."

The second paper is less important. It points out once more the existence of the suppressed wish for the death of the disliked, tracing it back to its (supposed) roots in primitive warfare. It explains heroism as due largely to a belief—based of course on a desire—in the impossibility of our own extinction (page 62). The thesis is rather surprising. It has by no means been proved that most men refuse to believe in the possibility of their own taking-off; and even if this were the case, the explanation would still fall far short of explaining why men are heroic.

H. N.

* Dr. Freud is an Austrian, and one wonders why his book was permitted to see print. The query is also suggested by the publication of his countryman, Andreas Latzko's *Men in War*, the series of masterly tales recently published here in translation by Messrs. Boni and Liveright.

THE NEW MAP OF ASIA. By Herbert A. Gibbons. The Century Company. Pp. 571.

Mr. Gibbons has once more put his readers in his debt by presenting greatly needed information upon recent history. His latest book tells the story of the Western powers in Asia during the past twenty years. Like his *New Map of Africa*, it is a tale that reminds us sharply how huge is the task of getting ethical principles into the dealings of the dominant peoples toward the weaker.

Each of the countries owned directly or indirectly (through "protectorates," etc.) by foreign lands is described in chapters recounting the origins of the possession, the effects upon the country, the present state of affairs and the outlook for the future. The chapters on China and Japan are particularly timely. In discussing the Shantung problem, for example, Mr. Gibbons, without endorsing the attitude of Japan, makes us see that from the viewpoint of the Japanese, there is nothing particularly reprehensible in their treatment of China. From the day when the British made war upon China in the interests of the opium trade and took Hong Kong to the days when France, Germany and Russia seized choice morsels, an example was set which Japan has not hesitated to follow, on the plea that her own safety demanded getting into the game before it was too late. It is hard to read these chapters without a blush.

The same is true of the chapters on India and Persia. The warm admiration for Englishmen which the author reveals in many of his writings does not blind him to the ugly side of British imperialism. He is keenly disappointed at the Peace of Versailles. Readers who want light upon the present world-situation—a light which requires an understanding of the designs of the big powers upon Asia and Africa—will do well to consult this able student.

H. N.

PROPOSED ROADS TO FREEDOM: SOCIALISM, ANARCHISM AND SYNDICALISM. By Bertrand Russell, F. R. S. Henry Holt and Company. Pp. 218.

Here is a book to be specially commended in these days of great and rapid world-change. Whether one agrees with Mr. Russell or not, it is highly useful to survey in company with a mind as scholarly and as fine-grained as his a proposal as important as that of the Guild Socialism which he favors. That Mr. Russell is a distinguished philosopher surely does not disqualify him for such a study of the values and demerits in present tendencies.

The first part of the book gives a historical sketch of Mexican Socialism, the hostility between the Socialists and the Anarchists, and the rise of Syndicalism. The second part discusses the problems of work and pay, government and law, international relations, science and art, under State Socialism, under Syndicalism (which would abolish the state and have things run entirely by the producers), and especially under Guild Socialism. The later system, Mr. Russell believes, will combine the advantages of the other two (for he holds that each has certain advantages indeed) by a sort of federalism among the industries. This movement, which seems to be rapidly increasing in favor among British radicals, aims to secure autonomy for industry with curtailment but not abolition of the power of the State. As against Parliamentary Socialism, which looks on man chiefly as consumer, this point of view regards him chiefly as producer, and is more concerned to secure freedom in the work itself than to increase the individual's share of the product.

Not the least excellence in the book is the breadth of view that takes in the arguments against his case as well as those for it. It is his own special bigness of outlook that makes Mr. Russell plead so warmly for an understanding of the reasons why the personality of radical reformers so often repels instead of attracting. These pages (xii to xviii) are among the best in the book. The chapter on international relations points out the connections between war and capitalism, with its desire to exploit backward countries and its control of the press. He makes a point also of the tendency in a capitalistic society to encourage pugnacity by encouraging the habit of "bossing." "So long as capitalist society persists, an undue measure of power will be in the hands of those who have acquired wealth and influence through a great position in industry and finance. Such men are in the habit, in private life, of finding their will seldom questioned; they are surrounded by obsequious satellites and are not infrequently engaged in conflicts with trade unions. * * * The man who is accustomed to find submission to his will becomes indignant when he finds opposition. Instinctively he is convinced that opposition is wicked and must be crushed" (p. 144).

But Mr. Russell has not lost his perspective. He regards it as only a half truth that wars would cease if capitalism disappeared. He recalls the fact that there were wars before the era of business competition, and that man's pugnacity is too deeply rooted to be killed off by closing one of the outlets. He instances the existence of race-

hatreds for which there is no economic cause and points to the likelihood that "those who have been inspired to action by the doctrine of the class war will have acquired the habit of hatred, and will instinctively see new enemies when the old ones have been vanquished" (p. 149). The real obstacle to peace is in the heart and mind of man; and the ultimate hope, he insists requires a combining of the outward reconstructions with a thorough-going ethical renovation.

H. N.

RELIGIONS OF THE PAST AND PRESENT. Edited by J. A. Montgomery. J. B. Lippincott and Company. Pp. 450. Price, \$2.50.

This book consists of fourteen lectures on ancient and modern religions, edited by the professor of Hebrew in the University of Pennsylvania and contributed by fellow-members of the faculty and of the University's department devoted to the History of Religions. The book is to be contrasted with many a predecessor covering the same field. Unlike the London volume of forty years ago—*The Religions of the World*—and the recent New York publication, *The Unity of Religions* (edited by Rev. J. H. Randall), this work is a product of professors and specialists. Unlike Pfeleiderer's *Religion and Historic Faiths*, and George F. Moore's *History of Religions*,—in which a single author covers the entire field,—we have here as many writers as there are religions presented, excepting only in the case of two of the Semitic religions the Babylonian-Assyrian and the Mohammedan, which Professor Jastrow has discussed, and again, in the case of three of the Aryan religions—Vedism, Brahmanism and Buddhism,—with which Professor Edgerton deals. Unlike James Freeman Clarke's *Ten Great Religions*,—which treats Christianity as the absolute religion, as possessing all that is good in the non-Christian religions together with elements of thought and sentiment peculiar to itself,—this latest contribution to the study of comparative religions is wholly free from the bias of sectarianism.

It is the peculiar merit of this volume that each religion is treated by a specialist and with entire freedom of thought, his prime purpose being a simple, direct and accurate presentation of the truth. Each chapter is supplemented with a bibliography which in every case bears witness to the quality and modernity of the scholarship reflected in the chapter. The book has a double value in that it furnishes an authoritative exposition of what each religion stands for and at the same time illustrates results achieved by the science of comparative religion. Chief among these, perhaps, is the discovery that the highest ethical principles of different parts of the human race

tend to coincide (p. 155). As the reader proceeds from chapter to chapter the conviction is borne in upon him (and with cumulative effect) that such moral sentiments as justice, temperance, truthfulness, patience, love, mercy,—far from being the peculiar property of any one religion, are inculcated in the Bibles of all religions. He sees, too, that spiritual sentiments, such as awe, reverence, wonder, aspiration, worship,—far from being peculiar to any one religion, have found expression in all the various systems of faith.

Moreover, it is made apparent that differences of climate, of environment and of racial origin have produced varying expressions of one and the same spiritual sentiment; so that, whether it be the Polynesian, squatting in dumb meditation before his feathered god; or whether it be the Mohammedan, prostrate in front of his mosque; or whether it be the Christian, kneeling in petitionary prayer to his Father in Heaven,—it is one and the same spiritual hunger that is being expressed.

Here, again, it is made plain that the old classification of religions,—according to which Christianity was put in a class by itself, as the one, true, divine religion, and all the other religions set in another class, and labelled "pagan," or "false,"—must be abandoned as obsolete and unwarranted.

In nearly every one of the fourteen chapters we find occasional cause for dissent from positions which the writers have taken without qualification or reserve. A few examples follow. Professor Montgomery's sketch of the distinctive features of the Hebrew religion (p. 82), fails to include the cardinal conception of Righteousness (with its twofold source) and its subsequent modification in the post-prophetic period, which prepared the way for the Pauline theology. We note also this author's defence of a Hebrew doctrine of eternity, as contrasted with immortality (111). He appeals particularly to the well known passages in Job and the Psalms, but the fact is that each one of these admits of an interpretation consistent with the prevailing Old Testament view of Sheol as man's ultimate destiny.

In Professor Edgerton's treatment of "Nirvana" he ventures the statement that "to strict and original Buddhism, Nirvana means absolute annihilation" (p. 145). Here he sides with Childers and Oldenberg as against Rhys Davids and Max Mueller, the former holding that the Buddha interpreted Nirvana to mean the "attainment of perfection in this life" and has nothing to do with a hereafter, while Max Mueller contended that by Nirvana the Buddha meant "an absolute peace of soul, of which the repose of the saint is a foretaste." But the truth is that Gautama never committed himself to a positive definition of Nirvana. All his authentic utterances on the subject are negative, implying nothing more than that blessed state in which rebirth is forever impossible.

Professor Kent in commenting upon the Zoroastrian theology, with its transient dualism, remarks that "Zoroaster's solution is perhaps a presentation of the problem rather than a solution" (195). But surely, we may say more than that. For, Zoroaster did not regard Ahura-Mazda as omnipotent *ab initio*. Rather was it his belief that the accepted dualism is neither absolute nor eternal, but merely "an episode in the existence of Ahura-Mazda," the supreme God, in truth; omniscient and omnipresent, but not yet omnipotent, because *coeval* with Him, though not *coeternal* with Him, is Angro-Mainyus,—the Zoroastrian Satan.

In the chapter devoted to "Early Christianity," Professor Newbold says that "the gospel preached by the apostles included all that Jesus taught" (p. 367). But is not just the *absence* of the ethico-religious message of Jesus a *distinguishing* feature of the gospel of the apostles? What is its substance but doctrines about Jesus,—as Messiah and also as Savior, by reason of his crucifixion, resurrection and ascension?

It is to be hoped that the second edition of this book will be supplied with an index and with ampler citations from original sources when expounding the theology and ethics of the various systems of religion.

In an age and among a people eager for short-cuts and quick results, this book renders an invaluable service. It furnishes those persons who are too preoccupied for reading the series of monographs published by the "American Committee for Lectures on the History of Religions," with a reliable, impartial and admirably condensed account of the leading religions of the world.

A. W. M.

RELIGION AND CULTURE. By Frederick Schleier. Columbia University Press. Pp. 193.

Dr. Schleier in this highly technical essay, submitted as a thesis for the doctorate in philosophy at Columbia University, surveys the various methods of approach to religious phenomena used by distinguished anthropologists and ethnologists.

He insists that religions cannot be explained apart from their peculiar cultural setting, and at the same time shows the difficulty of reaching an adequate basis for the evaluation of early religions by a study of a limited geographical area or a circumscribed historical period. The temptation of ethnologists has been to form *a priori* their theories of man's religious origins, and then find proof for these theories in citing this or that alleged prehistoric custom and extending it as a general phenomenon. It is dangerous, he says, to posit an absolutely primitive Malaysian religion and proceed to elaborate from it the cults of developing man.

Dr. Schleier writes interesting chapters on the relation of magic to religion, on the influence of the belief in emanations and the powers of physical bodies, on the subconscious in religion, and on the relation of causality to magic and religion in early cultures. There is a great wealth of quotation in the book; the author acknowledges his indebtedness to scholars like Boas, Frazer, Skeat, Goldenweiser, and Schmidt on every page. In fact his essay is an extended commentary on the work of these masters.

Dr. Schleier has no positive theory of the origins of religion to support. His conclusions are rather negative, or at least they eventuate in the warning against hasty generalizations and premature classifications in this field. "We do not meant," he says at the end, "to attack indiscriminately and at large the processes of generalization and abstraction, and to contend that the proper study of all cultural phenomena consists in the return to concrete particularity in such manner as to involve nothing more than descriptive characterizations but rather to suggest that these logical processes, which lift facts out of their indigenous habitats and deal with them in their universalized aspects, should be applied with much more caution than is customary."

D. S. M.

THE JESUS OF HISTORY. By T. R. Glover. Association Press. Pp. 225.

Students of the early Christian Church who are familiar with Professor Glover's delightfully written books on *The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire* and *Life and Letters in the Fourth Century*, will turn with anticipation to any new book bearing his name. But in the present work, which is the digest of a number of lectures delivered in the various cities of India and published through the British Student Christian Organization, they will be somewhat disappointed. The title leads one to expect an historical account of the influence of Jesus on men's thought and action through the centuries, enriched with the illustrative detail of religious speculation and activity with which the author's mind is so well stored. Instead, until the very close of the book, we have a series of chapters on the mind of Jesus, on his teaching about God and man, on his view of sin, on his choice of the cross, which read like the pious generalities of a good-souled but inexperienced Sunday School superintendent. Rhetorical questions, platitudinous, patronizing commendations, hortatory sermonizing, interlard the pages, so that they drip fatness; and quota-

tions are repeated again and again, with a rather elementary exegesis.

Instead of the Jesus of history, Dr. Glover portrays the Jesus of Christian psychology. His book is a plea for the Christocentric conception of religion—not a new theme at all; and his arguments are neither deep nor convincing. Perhaps the sentimental disquisition on the power of Jesus' eyes as he looked upon a sinner or a seeker might be an acceptable form of discourse for the young men of India, but one feels that such a style of composition is rather beneath Dr. Glover's powers of pen and mind.

It is only when he comes to the penultimate chapter on "The Church in the Roman Empire" that the author finds the dignity and force of his theme. Here he is on familiar ground, and all the charm of his mind saturated with the life of imperial Rome appears in his pages. The masterly summary of the syncretism of the Empire, the keen criticism of the pagan gods who were a "drag on morality," the story of the penetration of this fearsome and undisciplined religiosity of paganism by the positive teaching of Christianity—all this is in striking contrast with the diffuse and superficial preachments of the earlier chapters.

The book is well worth reading for the last two chapters.

D. S. M.

A BOOK ABOUT THE ENGLISH BIBLE. By Josiah H. Penniman. Pp. 444. The Macmillan Company.

The expressed purpose of this volume by the professor of English literature in the University of Pennsylvania is "to give a brief account of the English Bible, its im-

mediate sources and their contents, the literary background and surroundings, the forms and characteristics of the constituent books and their relation to each other" (p. vii). Additional chapters give a short history of the translation of the Bible into English from Saxon times to our own day.

The book grew out of a series of lectures delivered to the students of the University, and while these may have been satisfactory as such, the book must be considered disappointing. The style is diffuse and involved, the arrangement of the material uninspired by the ideas of development, the author's standpoint painfully lacking in critical appreciation of the composite character of such books as Exodus, Leviticus, Isaiah, Zechariah; of the evolution of Hebrew literature as quite other than what it appears to be as the books of the Bible stand; of the development of Hebrew legislation from the Code in Exodus XXXIV to the latest laws in Leviticus. In no sense can this book be regarded as a contribution to our literature on the Bible. Indeed one is led to ask why, in view of Professor Gardiner's volume on *The Bible as Literature* and the recent monographs of Professors Kent and Moulton, the author should have felt prompted to publish the lectures given his students.

The lectures covered by chapters XVI-XXI, dealing with the printed English Bible and English versions, might have been selected from the total group of lectures as deserving of publication in booklet form, since in these six lectures the author has introduced certain data not met with in other popular works on the subject. But for the rest of the lectures there could seem to be no adequate reason for giving them wider publicity in book form.

A. W. M.

THE ETHICAL CULTURE MOVEMENT

Aid for European Societies

The American Ethical Union issued at the first of the year a leaflet which contained letters from representatives of the European Societies dealing with the exceptional opportunities for the spread of the Movement in England and on the Continent, and appealing for financial aid. This leaflet was distributed at the meetings of a number of the American Societies on January 4th, and the collections taken on that day are to be devoted to the work of the Movement on the other side. Reports have not been received from the other Societies, but New York and Brooklyn have already collected over eleven hundred dollars, five hundred of which was cabled to the other side as a Christmas surprise.

Helping the Foreign-Born

The "Practical Problems of the Immigrant" are being discussed at a series of six conferences arranged by the Study and Service Group of the New York Society. The conferences, which are conducted by experienced leaders, are held in the Society building on Wednesday mornings in January and February, at 10:30. Among the specific topics considered are "Home and Family Adjustment," "Health," and "Legal Protection and Immigrant Laws."

These conferences, which are free for those studying to do volunteer work among the foreign-born, are designed to supplement the course of Americanization lectures given under the auspices of the Womens Organiza-

tions of the Society on Friday mornings at 11:00. Several of the addresses in this series, by prominent representatives of the foreign groups, are to be published in THE STANDARD. The first of these, in which Professor Petrunkevitch deals with "The Russian Problem in the United States," appears in this issue.

Junior Group Begins Work

The first of a series of monthly social meetings was held by the Junior Group of the New York Society on Sunday, January 18th. Almost 100 persons enjoyed a musical program, including piano and vocal selections. One feature of the evening was a visit to the new room on the fifth floor of the Society building which is to be used as a headquarters by the young people of the Society and School. A forum is to be inaugurated in the near future, and specialized work is to be undertaken by music and study groups.

"School and Home"

The Parents and Teachers Association in New York continues to issue interesting numbers of its publication, *School and Home*. The latest number contains an article on "Educational Measurements" by Mr. Angelo Patri, author of *A Schoolmaster of the Great City*, as well as an article by Miss Bessie W. Stillman of the Ethical Culture School on "Making and Unmaking Prejudice."

A Community Forum

Great interest in public questions is shown by the young people who attend the forum maintained in connection with the Community Club dances at the New York Society building, under the general auspices of the Women's Conference. The room is crowded to capacity each time and the discussions are very lively. The last topic considered was, the Mexican problem.

The Mount Pleasant Cemetery

The Mount Pleasant Cemetery, situated in the Westchester Valley near White Plains, New York, which is owned and controlled by the New York Society and has its city office in the Society building, from its income has been able to call in its outstanding bonds and mortgages. Over ten per cent of the members of the Society are plot owners in the cemetery. Beginning January 1st of this year, five per cent of the proceeds of all sales of plots are to be reserved for the perpetual upkeep of the cemetery.

Public Forum in Brooklyn

The Men's Club of the Brooklyn Society is holding public forum meetings at the Society House which fill the meeting room to capacity. In January, Miss Alice Riggs Hunt, speaking for two

hours on "Facts About the Soviet Government in Hungary," told the audience much which the newspapers had, up to that time, never printed. The next meeting, which will be held on Tuesday evening, February 3rd, will be addressed by Mr. Allan McCurdy, whose subject is, "Is There Need of a New Political Party in America?"

A theatrical performance, given for the benefit of the Brooklyn Society by the Provincetown Players, was greatly enjoyed.

The Sunday morning program for the next month is: February 1st, Dr. John L. Elliott: "How to Treat the Young Rebel;" February 8th, Dr. Henry Neumann: "How Much of a Menace to America are the Foreign-Born?" February 15th, Dr. Neumann: "Robert E. Lee and Abraham Lincoln: Two American Types." The speakers on February 22nd and 29th, respectively, will be Mr. Horace J. Bridges of Chicago and Mr. George E. O'Dell of Grand Rapids. Their subjects are to be announced later.

Evening Meetings in Philadelphia

Beginning January 4th, the Philadelphia Society held a series of Sunday evening meetings at the Society House. At three of these gatherings, addresses were given under the auspices of the Women's Club, the Men's Club, and Group 76 (composed of the young people). On the evening of February 8th, a musicale and reception is to be given at the Society House. The thirty-fifth annual meeting was held on January 20th.

Public Conferences in Grand Rapids

At the close of the Sunday morning meetings in All Souls Church, the Grand Rapids Ethical Society holds a public conference, in which all persons interested in civic betterment, in problems of reconstruction, and in the realization of democratic ideals are invited to participate.

"The Ethical Approach to the Bible" is the subject under discussion in the class conducted by Mr. O'Dell Sunday mornings at 9:45 for the study of ethics. In addition to the regular Sunday morning meetings, at 10:30, a series of addresses on literary topics is being given Thursday afternoons at 4:15 by Mr. O'Dell and others.

The Detroit Ethical Society

A new class for child study has been formed under the auspices of the Women's Society. Mr. Joseph Lee's *Play in Education* will be the first book studied. The Ethical School is growing in numbers. Two classes meet regularly and a third is required. During the absence of Mr. Freeman in the East in January, the platform was occupied by Mr. John F. Lloyd of Ann Arbor and by Miss Jane Addams. Mr. Lloyd spoke on "The

Background of The Present Labor Unrest," and Miss Addams' subject was "What I saw In Europe."

Chicago Society "Year Book"

The *Year Book*, recently published and distributed by the Chicago Society, contains an interesting personal letter from the leader, Mr. Horace J. Bridges, who gives a retrospective account of what he describes as his seven years of apprenticeship in Chicago and expresses the hope that with the continued confidence of the Society he may henceforth be able to function as a journeyman, rather than as a novice in his craft.

Attention is called by Mr. Bridges to experiences of the past year which have made the members of the Society more than ever aware of the need for permanent quarters. The interruption of building activities during the war and the present demand for housing facilities have necessitated a postponement of the plan for acquiring a society house, but the members "are determined that the delay shall not be a day longer than circumstances make imperative." The Women's Union has taken the lead in this movement. Out of the proceeds of theater benefit performances and bazaars for the aid of such worthy philanthropies as Henry Booth House and the Legal Aid Society, the union has set aside a certain percentage and thus acquired what is described as a "nest-egg." Now that a beginning has been made, it is expected that the men will help them, and that through the joint effort a fireside of its own will be obtained by the Society.

The *Year Book* also contains a list of the members of the Society, of whom there are 339, a statement of principles, and other interesting material.

"Worry: Its Cause and Cure"

The above is the title of an address recently given by Mr. Bridges, which has been published in pamphlet form by the Chicago Society. Among the interesting subtitles which tempt the reader to peruse the address are the following: "Man's Exclusive Prerogative: Worry," "Savage and Civilized Worrying," "The Peace Produced by War," "Some Favorite Nightmares," and "The Art of Growing Young."

How Philosophy Helps

Mr. Chubb has recently given before the St. Louis Society a course of three lectures on "How Philosophy Can Help Us to a Way of Life." The aim was practical and ethical—to aid seeking minds; and the treatment was popular—restricted to vital and helpful issues. The course was based on a consideration of two contrasting philosophies, those of Spinoza and William James. Spinoza was selected as representative of the great makers of systems, and an account was given of his attempt to free man from

the bondage of the passions. James was chosen as the voice of the modern revolt against finished systems, and consideration was given to the advantages which may be expected from this revolt. A helpful syllabus was distributed in connection with the lectures.

Young People Extend Greetings

The Young People's Association of the St. Louis Society wish to extend hearty New Year's greetings to all the young people of the other Societies, and furthermore to say that they are keenly interested to know something of the activities of the other young people's organizations, and would greatly appreciate an exchange of ideas.

Civic Forum in St. Louis

In response to a need felt especially by the young people to become more familiar with the actual workings of the city government, a civic forum has been established in the St. Louis Society. At the bi-weekly meetings, the following are among the topics which have been discussed: "The City Charter," "Regulation of Municipal Utilities," "The Transportation Problem," "The Civil Service."

Campfire Girls

An unusually successful and delightful party was given by the Campfire Girls of the Sunday Assembly, in St. Louis. These young girls financed and arranged a Holiday party for twenty little girls from the Neighborhood House, and were so pleased over the outcome that they have decided to adopt these children as their special charges, and are planning for more happy times in the future.

English Conscientious Objectors

Mr. H. Snell, Secretary of the English Union of Ethical Societies, writes from London as follows as to the steps that were taken to secure the release of conscientious objectors from prison:

"Our activities as an organization have been limited to the passing of resolutions by the Council of the Union, to appeals to the Government through our paper, *The Humanist*, and to the signing of petitions promoted by either the No Conscription Fellowship, the Society of Friends, or well-known private people * * We have, of course, dealt with the matter on our platforms many times, and through the National Council of Peace Societies, with which we are affiliated and on whose Executive Committee I personally serve. We have shared in every effort that has been made on this matter.

"During the time that the conscientious objectors were in prison, I was accepted as a prison chaplain and held regular services in the prison. One of our books, *The Message of Man*, was also recognized by the Prison Commissioners as a devotional book which the prisoners could retain in their cells."

D. S. H.

THE SPIRIT OF RADICALISM*

BY FELIX ADLER

THE first imperative requirement in discussing our subject is to define the meaning of the term we use. The word "radical" at present is being applied indiscriminately to a variety of types which have nothing in common except in their being alike objectionable to the public. The other evening I overheard a furious lady denouncing as a Bolshevik a car conductor who passed her by without stopping. A Bolshevik is a person who believes in the rule of the proletariat and the abolition of private property. On the face of the facts there was not the slightest evidence that the conductor in question believed either in the abolition of private property or in the dictatorship of the proletariat. He was probably endeavoring to make up for lost time by rushing his car. I could sympathize with the aggrieved lady, but could hardly agree to the correctness of the term she used to express her feelings. When the mind is inflamed by some hostile passion, it is apt to snatch at the most opprobrious epithet in the vocabulary as a convenient missile.

It is the same with the word "Red." The "redness" exists quite as much, if not more, in the eyes of those who see attempts at revolution everywhere as in actual fact. For my part I am strongly persuaded that the preponderant majority of the working people of the United States are peaceable at heart and order-loving in spirit, and I regard it both as unfair and as tactically a serious mistake to assume widespread con-

spiracies, whether this is done sensationally or out of sheer fright. Everyone knows the power of suggestion. One may end by suggesting revolution, "wishing it on," as it were, upon those who would otherwise hardly conceive of it.

The term "radical," like "Bolshevik," in the parlance of the press, is rapidly slipping away from exact usage into flat vituperation. Yet it embraces a number of different and incompatible opinions which ought to be distinguished. First, among the radicals you will discern here and there the "criminal type." Whenever the order of society undergoes a momentous change, in times of transition, when the things that have been are giving way, and the new order is not yet firmly established, the denizens of the underworld appear, brandishing the torch. The criminal is essentially an anti-social being, one who resents order as such—any kind of order—one impatient of salutary restraint. In every popular uprising, the pernicious elements render themselves conspicuous by the extravagance of their deeds, and in the eyes of the unthinking, blacken the cause with which in appearance they associate themselves. We need to be on our guard against identifying progressive movements with criminality. The radical, as such, is certainly not criminal.

Next, the name "Radical," as applied to a certain group of political and social thinkers, comes from England, and the group includes some of the most distinguished names in recent English history: Bentham, John Stuart Mill, Morley, Frederick Harrison, and many another. The English radical is a liberal with a sharper

*An address delivered before the New York Society for Ethical Culture Sunday, December 7, 1919.

edge, a left wing liberal. His principles are essentially the same as those of the Liberal Party, only that he presses them to more stringent conclusions. Morley described the temper of the English working classes by saying that "they are actuated by a respectable desire to apply a practical remedy to a practical inconvenience." It will be admitted that radicalism which expresses itself as a respectable desire, and which has for its object to apply practical remedies to practical inconveniences, is not a very revolutionary thing.

There are also the English Socialists and the Guild Syndicalists, and then there is the Miners' Federation which, under the head of practical inconveniences would include the private ownership of the mines, and as a practical remedy would suggest nationalization. Still, on the whole, in England the word "radical" is so far from synonymous with "revolutionary" that in general it connotes "a respectable desire." In France, too, the name is given to the left wing liberals rather than to those who advocate extreme views. With us, however, radicalism is coming to mean something alarming, something to be fought, something to be suppressed; and it is our business to ascertain, if we can, what this thing is that people fear, and if it be dangerous in what its danger consists.

The literal definition of "radical" would be a person or an opinion advocating changes that go to the root of existing evils; but this definition would lead us too far. The English radicals of the type of John Stuart Mill believed that education is the radical remedy, the remedy that treats not merely the symptoms, but goes to the cause of the social maladies; and by education they meant chiefly the training of the reasoning faculties. Today no one any longer believes that mere correct thinking,

important as it is, is sufficient to counteract the force of those instincts and passions which, with tremendous sweep, carry men and nations whither if they used their reason merely they would never care to go. A somewhat belated clergyman recently expressed the belief that the unrest is caused by absenteeism from church,—so that in his view church attendance, if it could be effected, would be the radical remedy. There are so many different views as to the kind of remedy that can and will go to the root of things, that the verbal definition of radicalism does not answer. Perhaps it may be said that the term as used in America at present designates lawlessness. The radical then would be one who indulges in lawlessness or encourages others to act lawlessly.

But here we find ourselves confronted with the startling fact that sheer lawlessness is practiced by some of those who would generally be classed as conservatives, for instance the deportations in Arizona practiced by the mine owners, certainly lawless acts of the most violent description. The looting of railroad property, to the loss of many stockholders, the performances of the meat packers and a hundred similar facts might be cited to show that lawlessness and radicalism are not identical in the American mind. In fact the typical American man who rises from small beginnings to great wealth is by nature more or less lawless. For to be law-abiding in spirit is to submit one's will to the general will, and the American man of the kind I describe insists rather on having his own way, on carrying out his own will rather than submitting it to the general will. This characteristic has also been one of the great stumbling-blocks in the way of accommodation between employers and wage earners, as illustrated in the case of the late Mr.

Frick, that remarkable man who, at the time of the bloody Homestead riots, absolutely refused to concede the demands of the laborers, but when he had beaten them into submission, was willing to pay almost the scale of wages which they had asked for. It was not the wage that was with him in question, it was his will. Where this temper prevails, adjustment is impossible. The President said in his recent message, "repression is the seed of revolution." One might say, obstinacy is the provocation of radicalism; and obstinacy is in essence lawless.

Now the question must arise in the mind of every reflecting person, why are these men, who are surely lawless enough, not stigmatized as radicals? Why is the rebuke administered to them in the public press so mild? Why do the grossest violations of private rights evoke a smile rather than indignation? Why are our "supermen" censured at most as one would reprove naughty boys? Why is the feeling aroused against them so transient and superficial? Is it not because they are regarded as excrescences of the prevailing individualistic system to be deplored perhaps, to be restrained as far as possible, but not in principle to be repudiated, extreme examples of that individualism which doubtless many of those who are less daring would imitate if they could? While radicalism seems to be a term applied to those who in going to the root of matters, as they think, would deal with individualism itself, change the self-asserting, wilful tendencies that prevail in the present social order, and seek to substitute a different kind of order for that which exists.

A radical then is not one who sees relief in church-going, or in public school education, or in anti-trust laws, or anything of the sort, but one whose plans are more far-reaching, who is not against law and order,

but against the existing law and order, in the sense that he would substitute a better for it—at least of all the high-minded radicals, whatever their designation, this is true.

But even this description is not enough. If we are to deal fairly by our subject, we must take account not only of the ideas put forward by the radicals, but also of the radical temper. And here we come upon an important distinction, on which my address of today hinges. The maintenance of law and order is the Shibboleth of the hour. Law, even a bad law, we say, must be executed; even one that operates grievous injustice must be obeyed, until it is either expunged or amended. This is an axiom of American life; there must be no violence, no subversive changes. But is law then so sacred?

The face of Law has two profiles: the one noble, the other demonic, often diabolic in expression. There is indeed no system of law and order which is wholly unjust in the sense that it has not included certain minimum rights for the oppressed classes, underneath those who possess the privileges. Thus, for instance, Lord Buxton, the Governor General of South Africa, in a speech just reported, said that the black natives must not be put in irons, must not be subjected to personal assault, must not be flogged, "except at the command of a magistrate;" on the other hand he continued, they must understand that it is incumbent on them to be respectful and obedient, and if they consider their dignity curtailed "then let them seek another clime." Even under the feudal system, the miserable serfs had certain minimum rights granted to them; if compelled to toil the greater part of the time for their masters, there were certain days set apart when they might toil for their own scanty subsistence.

But neither is any system of law just. A publication has recently been issued by the Carnegie Foundation,

in which the author, Mr. Reginald Heber Smith, asserts that in our communities "the administration of justice is not impartial. The rich and poor do not stand on an equality before the law. The traditional method of providing justice has operated to close the doors of the courts to the poor, and has caused a gross denial of justice in all parts of the country to millions of persons. For instance, many thousands of men have been unable to collect their wages honestly earned." He attributes this denial of justice to delay, costs and fees, and to the expense of counsel; on the other hand, he attributes injustice only to the machinery under which law is administered—the cumbrous, dilatory, expensive, archaic methods in use. The substantive law, he acquits of blame. "There is no injustice in the heart of the law itself." Taking law in the strictly juristic sense, this may be so. But taking it in the wider sense of those ordinances, that legislation, by which the order of society is controlled, it must be said that there never has been a system of law and order which did not bear the finger prints of privilege. This was true of the law of the Roman patricians; it was true of the laws which the English imposed on Ireland; it was true of the landlord legislation of England, with its cornlaws, etc.; it was true of the laws by which the Southern slaveholders entrenched their domestic institution.

Nor has it ceased to be true today. Taking law as legislation, we find that the American system, generous and equitable in intent, was conceived to fit conditions which today no longer exist. It applied to a people of farmers, merchants, small manufacturers, with abundance of unoccupied land accessible, and room for the play of the initiative of the individual without too serious embarrassment of his neighbors.

At present this is no longer true. The social system of America, and the law in which it is expressed, while still approximately suited to the needs of the middle class (as the middle class understands its needs), fails to reach those above and also those beneath the middle class, fails to prevent the rise and multiplication of the colossal fortunes which are a calamity in any social system, and fails to offer relief to the relatively propertyless multitudes who work in industry. In speaking of the calamity of excessive fortunes, I am not even thinking primarily of the more equitable distribution of the wealth, but of the misdirection of energy to selfish ends on the part of men endowed with wonderful genius for organization, who might have been counted among the chief benefactors of mankind, with higher satisfactions for themselves and greater good to their fellow-beings. I am thinking also, when I say social calamity, of the perilous aggregation of power in the hands of those who possess the great fortunes, power exercised in the control of credit, of the transportation service, of the price of necessities, of the election of legislators. I am thinking of their influence on the course of legislation itself, and in the making, through publicity and propaganda, of the public opinion that in turn influences the legislators. Gifts for philanthropy or for art, dazzling as they may be, and unexampled in the amounts expended, illustrate the generous side which is not lacking in the character of the self-willed American who has risen to more than princely riches, but do not compensate, in the manner of the spending, for the method of the getting.

If the law has the two profiles, the Olympian and the demonic, if it is both fair in spots and foul in large blotches,—is law and order then sacred? Yes, it is; sacred as being all the same a great human achievement

arrived at in the effort, amid the endless complexities of human affairs and the clash of human interests, to lay at least the foundations of justice, on which we now and in future build. If the foundations are attacked, we must stand on guard. If a harsh employer refuses to accord human livable wages and humanly possible conditions to the wage-earners, and if people in their frenzy break out in open disorder, attack the mill, attempt to fire the plant, and the city calls upon the citizens, we may have to shoulder our guns with the rest to protect law and order in the person of that wretch who, for the time being, is identified with law and order. But let us have a care that the identification ceases, that the law which permits such oppression be changed.

Am I then a reactionary? I think not. I am tolerably clear on that point. The reactionary is one who sees only the fair profile, and as a rule he sees that only for two reasons: either because he is a creature of habit, a conservative, as they say, timid, and indisposed to change, or because he is easy under the system as it stands, and is not greatly concerned about the lot of those who, as things are, are not easy, or because he even profits by the disabilities under which his fellows suffer—profits materialistically; spiritually no man can profit at the expense of others.

Am I then a radical? I ask myself this question in all seriousness. Some of my younger friends would incontinently assure me that I am not, that I have not the stuff of radicalism in me. Or perhaps, if they remember my past career, they may say that in earlier days there was the radical note in my public speeches, but that it has now gone out of them. And again, if they are psychologists, they may go farther, and say that in general men grow more

conservative as they grow older. There is a good bit of truth in that, though I have known instances of the opposite—men growing radical in the last period of their life, shedding their conservatism with their hair, as it were. At any rate I should like to know whether I am a radical or not. And in order to answer this question, I must make one more attempt at defining the radical, and with this in view, I must take, however briefly, a somewhat broader sweep, calling attention to the fact that there are religious radicals and political radicals as well as social radicals, and inquiring what characteristic they all have in common.

The conservative sees the fair profile, the quasi-godlike profile, the radical sees the demonic aspect. The high-minded radical, and with him alone I have to do, is generally philanthropic in disposition, a lover of his fellow men, who reacts indignantly against the harm that is done them. And in his righteous wrath because of the salient evils of the system, the poignant pressure of which he feels, I say in the ardor of his indignation, he passes sentence of condemnation on the whole existing system (the whole of which the evil is the salient part), and declares that there must be *tabula rasa*, a clean sweep, that the whole building must be pulled down, down to the foundations, that there must be destruction first before there can be new construction. What he fails to see is that the old order can be made to pass into the new by gradual stages. How so? Not as some say because there is good in the old which can and should be preserved alongside of the evil, but because the good that exists in the old system is itself capable of being restated so as to be no longer the mere good that it was, but a *thing better than it was*. Belief in the possibility of the gradual passing of the old order into

the new depends on the fact that the good in the old order is capable of passing into something better. The conservative errs in maintaining the old system with all the evil that is in it, because of the good that is mingled with the evil; and he errs most flagrantly in believing that the good in the old system *can be maintained as it is*. The radical errs in his failure to realize, not only that there is good mingled with the bad, but that the good, like a mighty tree in which there is vital sap, can shed its withered leaves and push forth new buds and fruit.

Thus, to speak of the radical in religion, the materialistic freethinker declares the belief in an individual God, who exercises a special providence over the affairs of men to be harmful because it prevents men from realizing that they must be their own providence; harmful because the Jehovah of the Bible, the cloud enveloped, speaking in the voices of the storm, or in soft whisperings on Mount Carmel, the Lord of Justice and Mercy, is a creation of the human imagination. The radical freethinker of this type attacks theism, and gives the impression that the old religion must be swept away as a tissue of falsehood. He forgets that there was truth in the old religion, and that this truth, can be restated in another and higher way; he forgets that though Jehovah, the God of Justice and Mercy be, an imaginary being, yet that the justice and mercy of which he is the imaginary or poetic incarnation, is real, is in very deed the most real thing in the world. The divine authority of justice is the good in the old religion that must be restated, for which a more effectual worship must be won.

Of the political radical the extreme anti-slavery men furnish a notable example. Their voice was peremptory. The slave must be freed instantly. The Constitution which per-

mits slavery is a covenant with hell. The Constitution shall be flung to the winds. Righteousness brooks no delay. Destruction of the evil thing first; care for construction to come afterward. Abraham Lincoln was not of their mind. He emancipated the slaves as a war measure, but he pleaded to the end for compensation; and before the Civil War was begun by the action of the Southern Conventions, he had even required of the colored people, profoundly as he resented the institution of slavery, that they should endure their lot until the evil thing might be extirpated without danger to the unity of the nation. It is sometimes said that without the sharp goad thrust by the Abolitionists into the torpid conscience of the North, slavery would have continued indefinitely. On the other hand, extremes on the one side provoked extremes on the other, and gave to the extremists south of Mason's and Dixon's Line an ascendancy which they might otherwise not have had. And though hindsight prophecy is always vain so far as it means calculating what might have happened if things had been different, yet it is not useless to indicate a method which, from the ethical point of view, might have been followed. True democracy, as I said in a recent address, recognizes the distinction between the forward and the backward elements in a democratic society. The appeal might have been made to the forward classes in the South who still felt responsible for the Negro, to prepare him for freedom, for instance, by agricultural and industrial training, during a certain period of apprenticeship. Instead, the radicals of the North, trusting in the false theory that—give men freedom and they will be fit to use it—put the ballot into the hands of the ignorant slaves, with what results is known. The Freedman's Bureau, which was

intended for his protection, failed; and even today, after the lapse of half a century, the conception that the more advantaged and educated classes have upon them the responsibility to raise the colored people to the level of citizenship, is appreciated only by the few. The general attitude is still that the Negro must be kept in his place, that he must remain more or less a hewer of wood and drawer of water, with lynchings as a corrective. The radical method as illustrated in regard to this great problem in our national history has not approved itself as a success.

The contention of many who discuss these questions is that human society can only be moved forward by jerks as it were, as the drawer of a bureau when held fast will not yield to force evenly applied; first one must pull at one end and then at the other. But the simile is misleading. Radicalism in one direction drives society backward in the opposite direction. The conservative stiffness and opposition to forward movements leads in turn to radical reaction. And thus there is an everlasting see-saw and lasting progress nowhere as yet. The point of application is to the good in the old order. The good may not as such be retained, but restated, developed. Along that line steadfast, assured progress is possible.

And let us apply this same thought to the social radicalism of our time. There is good in the American system as it stands. It is the craving for democracy, the feeling for the worth of human beings, for the uncommon possibilities of the common man. And crude as are the expressions of this feeling, nevertheless it exists. And since the industrial issue is the vital issue of the day, the introduction of democracy in this noble sense into industry is the positive development of the good latent in

the system that we must consummate.

President Wilson in his recent message, among other suggestions which seem to me not clear, struck a strong note when he said: "The great unrest throughout the world bids us put our own house in order. We must address ourself to the difficult task of finding a method that will bring about a general democratization of industry, based on the full recognition of those who work, in whatever rank, to participate in some organic way in every decision which directly affects their welfare." In some organic way—yes; only I should wish to add, not merely in every decision which affects their welfare, for "their welfare" connotes the individualistic point of view, but in every decision which affects that service which their social group, the industrial group, is called upon to render. The great desideratum is that a share of responsibility be placed upon them for the working of the whole of which they are a part. But a share of responsibility must carry with it a measure of power; for without power to effectuate itself, responsibility is an illusory name. The good in the present system is the craving for democracy. Democracy at present is expressed in terms of individual welfare. The good to be restated and developed is democracy expressed in terms of service.

Along this line there can be change without a social cataclysm, and all the horror which it brings in its train,—as war between classes, inflamed hatreds, suffering of the innocent. Only we must remember that the times are perilous, that the high cost of the necessities is severely felt, that the masses of men, slow to be aroused, are in motion, like the heavy waves of the sea, and that whatever steps in the right direction are possible, should be taken promptly. There

must be more rapid evolution if we are to escape rabid revolution.

My contention is that reactionism and radicalism are not the only alternatives. The condition in which the world finds itself today, it seems to me, should open the eyes of radicals as to the method which they have pursued, that of agitating against outstanding evils, destroying first, and leaving construction to come afterwards; or if not that, staking their hope upon some plan like that of Socialism, or philosophic anarchism, which likewise involve a sharp break with the past, and which, while removing certain wrongs, certain particular forms of injustice, will, in the complexity of human affairs, raise up new and unheard of evils—bringing certain gains, involving irretrievable loss. My contention is that a third position is possible. Let me make it entirely clear. There is no question in my view, of perpetuating the old order as it is. The old order must pass; the new order must come, but it will only come sanely if that which has been found valid in human experience in the past is carried over into the new order, if that which is viable, lives on, that which is good, is developed into the better.

But I have yet one word to say to my radical friends. I should abhor myself in my inmost soul if I had become incapable of that moral indignation which you feel, my radical comrades, especially my younger radical comrades, at every shape of injustice and oppression,—at the exploitation of the poor, at the indiscriminate suppression of free speech, at the cruel blockade, and all the things that make you cry out so loudly. Why then, you will ask, will you not join in the outcry, in the protests? Because I have come to believe, that apart from certain occasions when some palpable wrong, that

can be immediately rectified, is to be abolished, the mere outcry and protest does not avail; because I, too, in my own way, wish to go to the root of the matter, and the root of the matter I believe to be a new turn given to men's minds from selfishness to self-expression in terms of social service; also because I wish to work with, and upon the better nature of those whom you merely antagonize as being bad; because, in a way—do not misunderstand me—I side with the oppressor as well as with the oppressed, striving to arouse in him, by holding up before him the injuries which he inflicts, a discontent, a loathing of himself as he is, urging upon him that he is doing injustice to himself in doing harm to others, appealing to him, not as one who hates him, not as one who identifies him with his evil deeds, but seeking to release him from complicity with the evil which he does—because I side with the oppressor in this sense, as well as with the oppressed, I cannot be one of the denunciatory radical group.

And for another reason still, because I have learned that there are evils in this world beyond my reach and yours, wrongs in themselves morally intolerable, which yet must long be endured, because we are bound to bear the doom of the evil in mankind which cannot but gradually be changed.

And if you say this is pessimism, this is despondency, I say no. because every vigorous effort made to compass the changes that are possible—and the effort may never for a moment be relaxed—has for its inner result to confirm the faith that change must come, must because it ought, and to light up in us the vision of the better order that is to be. In that vision every truly human heart finds strength.

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GEORGE ELIOT: A CENTENARY TRIBUTE

BY HORACE J. BRIDGES

TO confess a taste for the Victorians is, in the eyes of our modernity worshippers, a damaging self-betrayal. The young Olympians of Greenwich Village and its analogues have so high a scorn for Browning and Tennyson that they never read them, being convinced that these older luminaries have paled their ineffectual fires before the greater light of Miss Lowell, Mr. Masters and Mr. Lindsay. Swinburne, for them, is but "the shadow of a name." A love for Dickens is a confession of vulgarity. Thackeray and George Eliot, who believed in morality, and said so in their novels, thereby committed a rustic gaucherie which dooms them forever to outer darkness.

Yet there are still some strayed revellers from the nineteenth century, belatedly haunting its forsaken banqueting boards, who feel about this prevailing fashion as they feel about the confessed preference of the Queen Anne men for Pope and Congreve over Spenser and Shakespeare. Such lovers of the old are not blind to the merits of contemporaries. They are well aware that in Massfield and Lindsay, and many others, we have authentic poets, and that on both sides of the ocean our language is being enriched with a wealth of noble fiction and drama, much of which will deservedly obtain the attention of the next ages. Yet they feel that to throw out the sifted best of fifty years ago, while accepting *en masse* the unscreened prod-

uct of the hour, is at once to betray shallowness and to incur serious loss.

The life of George Eliot, which ran from November 22, 1819, to December 22, 1880, covers the growing and creative decades of the Victorian Age. This was a period of great industrial change, of advance in political democracy, of scientific progress, of religious awakening, of outstanding excellence in poetry, fiction and many other departments of literature.

To realize the greatness of this period, one needs but to recall a few of the people with whom George Eliot was contemporary. Whitman and Lowell were born in the same year with her; as were also her fellow-countrymen Ruskin and Kingsley. She was the contemporary of Lincoln and Disraeli, of Gladstone, Bright and Cobden, of Emerson, Holmes and Hawthorne, of Dickens and Thackeray, Tennyson and Browning, Matthew Arnold, Swinburne, Macaulay, Carlyle, Darwin and Huxley—to mention only a few of the most eminent in the English-speaking nations, and ignore the huge list of first-rate names that would have to be enumerated if one glanced at Continental Europe.

About the royal lady who names this epoch Mr. Zangwill (or another) has vented the witticism that she was "frightfully early Victorian." What is it that we so dislike in the period on which we paste this dyslogistic label? Obviously nothing peculiarly British,

since the bad taste is raised by the term in American and European mouths as well. It is something characteristic of an age rather than of any one country. It meets the eye and affronts the taste in France, Germany and America, as well as Britain. Indeed, France, during the pinchbeck empire of Napoleon III, synthesizes its objectionableness perhaps more completely than any other land.

The Victorian age was, in the first place, the age of the industrial revolution, which worked itself out under the extremest notions of individualism and *laissez-faire*, and under the illusion that a divine collective unselfishness could be juggled from the summation of individual selfishnesses. Thus the industrial revolution made a scene of physical and moral horror of every land it affected. Yet it is not alone the uglification of countrysides, the befouling of atmospheres with coal-smoke, and the building of "cities of dreadful night" like England's Manchesters and our Pittsburghs, that gives the distinctively unpleasant flavor to the word "Victorian." Nor is it alone our sense of indignation at social injustice, the tyranny of the machine, and the sacrifice of man to the industrial Moloch, that the word "Victorian" awakens. It is a twinge of the aesthetic nerve, a setting on edge of the teeth of taste, as well as a pain in the conscience.

The age was the age of the bourgeoisie. The British aristocracy surrendered its political control to the middle classes in 1832, at the same time emancipating Catholics and Jews and setting free those many forms of doubtful taste in religion that England calls "Protestant Dissent." Thus, the tone of the age was set by classes without standards. The grace and grandeur of the aristocratic time were passing; the new age had not yet attained grandeur or grace. The successful class was parvenu; and it was the extravagances wreaked by its frantic money-power that stamped the period with its evil features. It is Victorianism's execrable taste in architec-

ture, furniture, clothing, pictures, and machine-made substitutes for the products of the older handicrafts, that occasions our shuddering. Fortunately, literature in large measure escaped the prevalent blight. Its main stream, at all events, was not befouled; for the class that made the new plutocracy, and wrote it up or down, had never been so far to seek in literary standards as in the other arts.

Unluckily, we are still without a satisfactory biography of George Eliot. Sir Leslie Stephen, in his monograph in the "Men of Letters Series," is far from being at his best; he discharges a seemingly unloved task with bored and condescending conscientiousness. Mr. Cross's three volumes, entitled *Life and Letters*, are mere scissors and paste among her papers,—the scissors being used much more for concealment than disclosure. Writing as he did on the morrow of her death, Cross doubtless had valid reasons for his reticence; but surely now, after forty years, the full story of George Eliot might well be given to the world.

Yet although our curiosity as to many of her experiences must for the present remain unsatisfied, we shall never get a finer picture of the general aspects of the life she knew than her novels supply. The principal fact about her father, Robert Evans, is that he suggested to George Eliot the characters of Adam Bede and Caleb Garth. He was a man of obsolete ideas;—holding, for instance, the quaint, old-world superstition that whosoever accepted a day's wage was bound, by a thing called honour, to render a day's service in return for it. He had contempt for any man who professed to do a thing that he had not qualified himself to do. He was impatient of slackness and such conspiracies for avoiding work as are now in fashion. His opinions would provoke to laughter any assemblage in a modern stock exchange or trade union; and even in his day such fast-failing heresies restricted him to a slender measure of what the world calls success.

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His fifth and last child, Mary Ann Evans, was brought up in the country, and later amid a small-town life, the lineaments of which live pleasantly in the memory of readers of the *Scenes from Clerical Life*, *The Mill on the Floss*, *Adam Bede*, and *Middlemarch*. At twenty-one she went with her widowed father to live in Coventry, where she became the intimate friend of two families (the Brays and Hennells) who had broken with the traditional dogmas of Christianity. The result of this contact was the speedy eradication from George Eliot's mind of the creed she had been taught and had hitherto striven with considerable fervor to reduce to practice. The upheaval did not lead to family disaster, though, for a moment, her refusal to accompany her father to church threatened a separation between them. One of those compromises characteristic of the English (though unheard of among us) was arrived at: she went with him to church, and he abstained from inquiry into her opinions of the creed and the sermon. It was at this time that she accepted her first martyrdom—the translation into English of the *Leben Jesu* of Strauss. This was a grilling task for her, with her limited knowledge of German, her intense conscientiousness and her endless quest for accuracy. But the discipline bore its valuable fruit in her later literary style.

After her father's death in 1849, she spent some months in Switzerland. Returning to England, she went to London and became assistant editor of the *Westminster Review*, then in its palmy days as the leading British organ of liberal religious and political opinion. It had been founded by the Benthamite party, and was the mouthpiece of their school. This work brought her into intimate contact with an interesting circle: Herbert Spencer, Grote, the Carlyles, Froude, Harriet Martineau, Francis Newman, and, in particular, George Henry Lewes.

The version which the world has accepted of Lewes's domestic infelicities

(and against which there seems to be no strong evidence) is that his wife had betrayed and deserted him, uniting herself with another man. At that time, divorce in England was obtainable only by having a special Act of Parliament passed for each individual case. None but the wealthiest and those of greatest political influence could obtain it. Out of love for Lewes, compassion for his misfortune, and resentment of this indefensible state of the law, George Eliot united herself with him in 1854, and they lived together in perfect companionship until his death in 1878. Early in 1880 she married Mr. J. W. Cross, a man much younger than herself, who greatly admired her and wished to take care of her; but her death in December of the same year ended their happy companionship.

These two episodes,—the loss of her traditional faith and her irregular union with Lewes,—reflect the spirit of revolt that was characteristic of the time: and it is with regard to them and their consequences to her that fuller biographical disclosure is to be desired.

As to the first, one cannot hesitate to recognize that it was a blessing to her, and, through her work, to the world. For that early creed of hers was a rather cabined evangelicism, within the bounds of which a spirit like hers could never have reached anything like normal development. In the lives of some of her neighbors, undoubtedly, she saw Christianity at its noblest; but not in their creed. And in too many even of the lives what she saw was a grossness and animality inconsistent even with the most unspiritualized forms of Christianity. She knew people who suggested to her the characters of Dinah Morris, Dorothea Brooke, Mr. Farebrother, Mr. Tryan and the like; but she also met the prototypes of Dempster, Bulstrode and Casaubon.

Now if we are to say of these undesirables that they were bad in spite of their creed, justice will constrain us to add that it was also in spite of their creed that her nobler characters achieved

and manifested their goodness. For the creed in question prescribed the worship of a God modelled on the Eastern despot, who most unethically held his children guilty of the sin of their first ancestor, and then absolved them from its consequences by quite immorally accepting the vicarious sacrifice of an innocent third party. On its practical side, this creed was chiefly concerned to make, in commercial fashion, the best of the rather corrupt bargain thus offered. To escape hell-fire, to secure the advantages of Christ's atonement, and to assure oneself the fullest obtainable measure of the felicity of heaven, meantime getting out of this life the utmost possible degree of pleasure and selfish advantage consistent with these objects—such was the Christianity of the common run of people of George Eliot's time. Clearly, whoever felt the need for spiritual religion of any kind had first to escape from this in one direction or another. Now, while Newman and those he influenced sought to escape by retreating to the fifteenth century, George Eliot, with multitudes of others, went forward into an agnosticism which at least served the purpose of enabling them to pause, take stock of the situation, and look around for the direction in which a positive and satisfying philosophy might most hopefully be sought.

It will seem regrettable to many now that the only refuge available for a spirit like George Eliot's should have been this rather arid agnosticism of the mid-nineteenth century, which was giving the world copious information about the Unknowable, but making serious oversights regarding some of the most important matters within the sphere of the Knowable. There is pathos in the spectacle of her fine spiritual nature fighting against the glaring insufficiencies of a philosophy to which, as a matter of intellectual honor, she had submitted her mind, but which could neither feed her soul nor account for or direct its noblest inspirations.

The clearest fact about George Eliot

is her intensely religious nature. This it was which occasioned her revolt against the unethical creed and life of her time. So has it been with all the great religious innovators of the world. The commonplace notion that people run away from creeds in order to liberate their self-indulgence from galling restrictions is, in the best cases—nay, in the majority of cases—a complete inversion of the truth. One must have been self-indulgent indeed to find unendurable restraint in a Church in which Lawyer Dempster could be an officeholder.

George Eliot's profound insight into and sympathy with the unaffected religion and genuine spiritual life of unsophisticated people has led many to suppose either that she did not revolt completely against the creed of her childhood, or that she recanted her heresies. But neither of these things is true. When she broke with sectarian Christianity, she did so completely and finally; and she never took a step back towards the creed that she had left. Her letters, her novels (to those who can read), and the essays, both of her middle life and last years, afford clear proof of this. It is true that she was always groping for a fuller and more satisfactory faith than she enjoyed, but she never sought it in any return towards the dogmas she had abandoned.

In this connection, one may refer to the admirable essay on "Evangelical Teaching" which she contributed to the *Westminster Review* in 1855 and had republished at the end of her days. It is in several ways a model of what rationalistic criticism should be—temperate, restrained; charitable, even generous, to her opponent; adequately informed; yet fired throughout with an intense ethical condemnation of the fierce and unholy dogmas currently preached in the name of the Prophet of Nazareth. For these reasons, it still makes edifying reading; but I appeal to it here, and to the fact that she deliberately arranged for its republication at the end of her days, to

show that her severance from the faith of her childhood was never repented.

The false impression which the public has about this matter is, of course, due to the loveliness of the evangelical characters in George Eliot's novels. No zealot of Low Anglicanism could imagine or desire a nobler example of the fruits of that system than the Rev. Edgar Tryan. No devotee of Methodism could wish to see the kind of character it can produce in an uninstructed girl more lovingly conceived and exquisitely portrayed than in the picture of Dinah Morris.

But this is the insight of genius and the splendid truthfulness of a mind wholly free from sectarian bias. The difference between George Eliot and the ordinary free thinker was that she could and did think, and, when thinking, she was really free—free from prejudice. The trouble with free thinkers (I am one myself, so I know) is that too often they are as unable to see the truth about their orthodox neighbors as these are to see the truth about them.

There is a saying of Renan to the effect that a man could only write the history of a religion that he had first believed and afterwards rejected. It may well be hoped that this is not true; for if it be, how are we ever to understand extinct religions, or systems so foreign to our Western spirits as Mohammedanism and the great Oriental faiths? Yet the double qualification was a great advantage to George Eliot. It enabled her to do sublime justice to the nature and fruits of that local and provincial phase of Christianity which she had outgrown.

For her, as for many others, the loss of creed meant a finding of faith—faith in man and in the indefinable, pervasive Good out of which the gods are made. It has been said that sometimes "the heart lives by the faith the lips deny." It was not wholly so with George Eliot. Yet there was a fortunate and shining inconsistency between her religious estimate of man and the worth of human

life, and the philosophy which her intellect had been constrained to embrace. She says in the poem to *Romola*, "The human soul is hospitable, and will entertain conflicting sentiments and contradictory opinions with much impartiality." This is fortunate, in view of the bankruptcy to which we should all be condemned were we compelled to jettison every fragment of our mental and spiritual cargo, except the tiny bits that will precisely dovetail with each other.

George Eliot's philosophy tended to be one of mechanistic naturalism. It was headed for the reduction of man to mere animality, and for the banishing of all traces of mind, purpose and freedom from the universe. That on this basis ethics, in the proper sense, became impossible; that morality lost its heart and spring by being degraded to a calculus of self-regarding individual prudence, was clear to her intuition, though she could not see her way to escaping intellectually from a view of life and the world that entailed these consequences.

She lived, then, by a faith, admittedly indemonstrable, in "the angel heart of man." There is a phrase in *Daniel Deronda*, "the insistent penetration of suppressed experience." Its date will save this phrase from being interpreted in the exquisite sense of the 'Freudians. Now, George Eliot's heart was insistent—penetrated by an experience of elements in man and the world which her philosophy could not account for, and accordingly sought to suppress. No Platonic or Christian moralist ever insisted more earnestly than she on the duty and joy of self-sacrifice, on the binding character of right, irrespective of consequences, on the ineffectiveness of self-regarding motives for spiritual morality, or on the reality of the over-arching, universal good that somehow reaches the soul that lies open to it. This is why she incurred the abuse of Nietzsche. He was right to see in her an enemy, and to detect some measure of inconsistency between her philosophic

postulates and her moral valuations. But some of us, while admitting the logical ground for Nietzsche's stricture, will be obstinately grateful to George Eliot for holding to a necessary truth even at the sacrifice of formal consistency.

Nietzsche's point is that she had no right to retain what he called Christian ethics, while abandoning the theology which was its foundation. But the essentials of "Christian ethics"—the ascription to man of such intrinsic worth as one cannot attribute to any mere product of nature, and the doctrine that life is to be found by losing it—are neither exclusively Christian nor necessarily dependent upon a theological philosophy for justification. In Christianity, as a simple matter of history, the ethics is not a product of the theology. It is an independent and original insight; the theology is an afterthought to explain it. Those who cannot accept the afterthought are under no constraint to abandon the insight. It is open to them to seek another and a more rationally satisfying explanation.

George Eliot sees that the good done in the name of theological systems is really independent of them and due to the splendid humanity of the finer type of people in their influence on others. The whole point of the wonderful story of *Janet's Repentance* is that it was Tryan the man, with the insight born of his own sin and repentance, not Tryan the sectarian, who was able to save Janet's soul. With the same nature and experience, but without a touch of his evangelical theology, he would have had the same power; without the nature and experience, his theology would never have given it to him. If any reader is disposed to quarrel with this view, let him consider the influence of the child on Silas Marner and of Daniel Deronda on Gwendolen Harleth. That of Savonarola on Romola is perhaps as open to varying interpretation as the case of Janet and Tryan; but he is a poor reader of George Eliot who cannot see the

lesson she is seeking to enforce. Her view is the one expressed by Professor Schmidt in his noble work, *The Prophet of Nazareth*: "It is the touch of man that heals." There is a divine power in the world; but it works only through human instrumentalities. If you must needs insist on explaining Christ's influence over the Magdalenes and tax-grafters by saying that Christ was God, some of us will be ready to accept the explanation, provided you will also admit that every man or woman who produces a like effect on a Janet Dempster, or a Romola or Gwendolen, is also *in so far* God. The terminology is of slight importance. What matters is our recognition of the nature of that highest human influence which produces such effects, and its identity wherever it appears. This was the truth George Eliot strove to enforce.

We talk of the mystery of evil; and a mystery it truly is. But is not the greatest of its puzzles the fact that it sometimes becomes the means to a good unattainable without it? If Edgar Tryan can save Janet's soul, it is because he has done an evil greater than hers. The fact that he has risen to newness of life out of such a spiritual death enables her to conceive the possibility of her own redemption; and seeing this to be possible, she discovers, latent in herself, the strength to make it actual.

Now, nobody can say that George Eliot acted from any evil motive in her union with Lewes. Her purpose, beyond all question, was holy and irreproachable. But one may nevertheless hold that she fell into an error of moral judgment. The matter cannot here be discussed. It must suffice to hint at the certain consequences that would have ensued had the union not fortunately proved childless. Consequences to offspring are the utilitarian test of all proposed solutions of the problem of the union of the sexes.

Yet it is possible, while thinking that wrong judgment was shown, to feel the profoundest respect for the courage

evidenced and sympathy with the conflict and sorrow entailed, by such a step as George Eliot took. No doubt the English law at the time was intolerable. Yet it is not cowardice but rational prudence to stick to what T. H. Green calls "the rule of common sense,"—that in a constitutional country one should conform to a bad law until it can be changed by constitutional methods. A protest by Lewes and George Eliot would have had greater dignity and effect if they had not broken the unjust law.

But be that as it may, their union was to themselves a real blessing, whatever its effect on their relations with others or its influence in the way of example. They seem to have been an admirably assorted pair; and they were assuredly more faithful to the vow they had not made than many who make it. Nor can we doubt that it was personal experience that produced in George Eliot her profound sense of the native, inherent sanctity of social bonds and human faith. As she puts it in the *Spanish Gypsy*:

The sanctity of oaths
Lies not in lightning that avenges them,
But in the injury wrought by broken bonds,
And in the garnered good of human trust.

With this may be coupled the passionate outburst of *Romola* against Tito when he proposes to sell the library of her dead father, which they had pledged themselves to him to retain:

You talk of substantial good, Tito! Are faithfulness, and love, and sweet grateful memories, no good? Is it no good that we should keep our silent promises, on which others build because they believe in our love and truth? Is it no good that a just life should be justly honored? Or is it good that we should harden our hearts against all the wants and hopes of those who depended on us? What good can belong to men who have such souls? To talk cleverly, perhaps, and find soft couches for themselves, and live and die with their base selves as their best companions.

Another result of her relation with Lewes was the stimulus to her creative activity provided by his discriminating encouragement. He was a hard task-

master to himself, as is shown by his large literary output and the multitude of his fields of study. There is little doubt that his example and her own high conscientiousness in craftsmanship led George Eliot to serious over-exertion. We who read her books without thought of the conditions of their production, may feel more grateful to Lewes than we should have done had we seen the effect of his over-stimulation upon her. Each of them was born of pain. Her health, never robust, because chronically unsound as she advanced in years, and her standards of equipment and execution were so exacting that her novels represented immeasurably more labor than works of the same dimensions would have cost a writer more fluent and less self-critical.

But this is the price an author has to pay for work that will wear. Many of her contemporaries produced more in bulk, and were little less successful than she as regards their immediate reception; but they have found their place in limbo, whereas a third generation is now reading George Eliot, and she seems certain of the attention of a thirtieth.

We have alluded already to the essay on her by Sir Leslie Stephen. Nowhere is this more unsatisfactory to an admirer of George Eliot than in its treatment of *Romola*. He smiles at her attempt, by occasional visits to Florence and study of its history and literature, to catch the idiom of its life in the fifteenth century. This he compares to the undertaking of an Italian lady, by flying visits to London, to catch the idiom of the contemporary cockney, so as to portray him in literature. Stephen seems to have overlooked the fact that by his standard all historical fiction would be impossible. Nay, pressed closely, his position involves the impossibility of any man's conceiving the consciousness of another as it is for that other. This would restrict literature to autobiography, no specimen of which could be criticized. One need not contend that George Eliot succeeded in her task; but this is quite a different

matter from declaring such a task inherently impossible, or her method of essaying it unsound. Stephen is here using the logic (or the chop-logic) that proves everything impossible until it is done. Yet, in spite of the paradox involved, we do learn to walk by walking and to swim by swimming. And there are (in the Bible and elsewhere) "historical" tales which, if unhistorical of the periods with which they purport to deal, have the more serviceable merit of being soundly historical of the time in which they were written, and of those elements of humanity which do not change with time.

Now *Romola*, at the worst, is one of these. Its value does not depend on the possibility of reproducing, by George Eliot's method or another's, the consciousness of fifteenth-century Florentines as it was for them. Its subject is "the breaking-strain of a man under temptation,"—an affair not dependent on country or period. Every man is in danger of falling like Tito Melema. Hence the warning is never untimely. As for the much-criticised portrait of Savonarola, it is possible for an unlearned reader to obtain a more vivid and perhaps not falsier impression of his Elijah-like dimensions from George Eliot's free, imaginative insight than from the laborious detail of exact biographers. And what of *Romola*'s own experience? As a nineteenth-century positivist read into the fifteenth century, she may be anachronistic; but is such a picture of high hopes frustrate, and of a nobler spiritual growth through the frustration than the fulfillment of the hopes could have brought, ever false in essentials?

Much has been said of the alleged decline of George Eliot's powers in her later novels. It is time that a protest should be entered against this uncritical commonplace. To one who has no gift for devising imaginary characters or situations, it is a great reinforcement to get the support of so skilled a novelist as Mr. Hugh Walpole for one's conviction that, in technique and in many

other of the highest powers of the fiction-writer, she was growing steadily to the end. She did not begin fiction until she was thirty-eight, and her productive period covered the ensuing twenty years. Now it may be true that in her later works there are no single characters so vividly individualized as Dinah Morris and Mrs. Poyser, and no single episode comparable in tragic poignancy with the flight, trial, confession and death of Hetty Sorrel. Yet I dare venture the conviction that *Middlemarch* is a far more artistically devised and skillfully executed work than *Adam Bede*. Indeed, I think it decidedly the best of her works.

One other criticism of Stephen's must be reckoned with. He declares (with his eye on Tito and Will Ladislav) that George Eliot's men are always women. He seems to imply that this must inevitably be the case with the male characters of any woman writer. Here he is again using an *a priori* argument and a logic inadequate to the subtlety of life. For, if we grant his position, we shall find ourselves driven to the conclusion that no man, poet or novelist or dramatist, can create women characters. Let us keep clear the two questions: that of possibility and that of fact. I am ready to defend some of George Eliot's men; but I am more concerned to save the case that Stephen in effect condemns—namely, that women can depict men and *vice versa*. I do not wish heedlessly to accept a verdict that would deprive Lady Macbeth, Portia and Hermione of their womanhood.

Now it is undeniable that Will Ladislav is more feminine than Dorothea, and Seth Bede than Dinah; but what of Lydgate, and Garth, and Adam Bede, and Tryan? What of Farebrother and Dempster? Sir Leslie Stephen drew the lines harder than nature does. Perhaps my disagreement with him may be due to a difference of heredity. It just happens that I number among my ancestry, on both sides of the family, a

long line of women. Possibly Stephen did not.

One element of permanent truth and value in George Eliot's work is the fact that her characters are almost always complex; that is to say, they are like real people. She shows us bad people doing good things and good people doing bad things. We can believe in Bulstrode, whereas Pecksniff is quite too good to be true. Mr. Chesterton was profoundly right when he said that Diogenes with his torch at noonday failed to find an honest man because it did not occur to him to look inside a thief. He points out the superior discrimination of the Founder of Christianity, who looked for his honest man on a gibbet, and found him there.

George Eliot was not a poet. We know this, because we have the proof in a volume of nearly seven hundred pages. But there is much matter bound up with her lack of art, and we shall do well to prize the substance while admitting the defects of the form. In such poems as *A Minor Prophet* and *The Choir Invisible*, and in certain passages of the *Spanish Gypsy*, she has given utterance to a brave and rational faith, which in days of darkness and sorrow has helped many to a renewal of courage and peace. She will make no terms with illusion, nor will she believe or preach anything merely because it is pleasant; but out of utter truthfulness she quarries faith and hope.

Thus there is reason for the enduring admiration of George Eliot which has prompted some of us to the observance of her centenary. I, for one, whatever you may think of me for the opinion, consider her not merely the greatest woman novelist I have read, but the finest sympathetic genius that ever worked through the medium of prose fiction. It is only the noblest spirits whose sympathy is universal. This universality she displays throughout; and nowhere more splendidly than in the power which enabled her to create the characters of Mordecai and Deronda. Even one who cannot accept without reservations the argument of chapter 42 of *Deronda*, or of the essay entitled *The Modern Hep! Hep! Hep!* must nevertheless salute with high reverence the humanity which could leap the barriers of race and creed and express the aspirations of an alien people in a form which they themselves consider classical.

So, with all due deference to our grave and reverend juniors, a plain man may still question whether the modernity-worshippers, who sneer at George Eliot without reading her, are not themselves thereby the losers. We have not now, nor are we likely soon to see, a generation strong enough to be able to disregard her warnings of the perils of moral collapse, or rich enough spiritually to be able, without loss, to dispense with the rare ethical wisdom garnered in her pages.

THE AMERICAN POLES AND THE AMERICANIZATION PROBLEM*

BY ALBERT MORAVSKI NAWENCH

Inasmuch as the data of the Census of 1910 are most unreliable with respect to the Poles, who were listed as born in Austria, Germany and Russia, instead of in Poland, I venture to present some data based upon my own cal-

culations, following an experience of over fifteen years in dealing with the Poles in New York City and the Middle West. While the census indicates that in 1910 there were less than two millions of Poles in the United States, I estimate that there are in this country from four to four and a half millions. By Poles, I mean people who speak Pol-

* From an address delivered under the auspices of the Women's Organizations of the New York Society for Ethical Culture.

ish among themselves, who are interested in Polish matters and are members of Polish church communities.

There are in the United States about one thousand Polish Roman Catholic parishes. Taking three thousand—which is by no means exaggerated—as the average membership of one parish, we have a total of three million Polish Catholics. To this must be added some three hundred thousand members of the Polish National Church, the same number belonging to various other denominations, and finally twenty per cent of the total, not affiliated with any church. This makes a grand total of four million, three hundred thousand.

Of this number one hundred and twenty thousand are residents of Greater New York. While these Poles are scattered throughout the city, there are large colonies in certain sections, e. g., on the lower East Side, between First and Fourteenth Streets, and on the West Side in the neighborhood of Fiftieth Street. The most homogeneous settlements are in the Greenpoint and Williamsburg districts, in South Brooklyn, Jamaica, Maspeth and Floral Park. Until about ten years ago, the bulk of this population consisted of skilled and unskilled workers, but in recent years, especially since the beginning of the great war, the number of small merchants, commercial agents and garage owners has been growing steadily. Not to be forgotten are the Polish farmers in the Jamaica, Floral Park and Maspeth districts, many of whom are very prosperous.

The Polish immigrant is almost exclusively of peasant origin. His ancestors have been tilling the soil for centuries, and it is not surprising that he should possess agricultural talent. Those who have settled on farms in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Texas, Washington and Oregon are as a rule excellent farmers. Not long ago, the Connecticut valley, abandoned by American farmers who could not make a living there, provided homes for

Polish immigrants who have converted hundreds of thousands of acres into a highly developed agricultural region. It is to be regretted that so little effort is being made by the Federal Government to induce Polish immigrants to settle on farms. I, for one, am a strong believer in the demoralizing influence of great cities. Why waste the human material best adapted to farming which the flood of immigration brings to these shores?

For the most part, the early Polish immigrants settled on the farms, and the farther west they went, the greater was their success. This may, in a large measure, be attributed to the fact that those who ventured westward were stronger and more energetic than those who remained at the seaboard. This does not mean that those who settled in the Eastern states were weak members of their race, for taken as a whole, the Polish immigrants are representative of the best and strongest elements.

It is utterly false to speak of immigration as bringing us the "scum" of the European countries, for the great bulk of those who come are of the very best material. They are those who resent more deeply than others the political, economic and social disadvantages of their life in the old country. They are those who are conscious of their vitality, who are not afraid of the hard struggle for life, even among strangers and in a foreign country. The fact that they may be illiterate, often the case with those who came from Poland, is by no means an argument against them. Illiteracy, in this instance, was merely a result of the Russian or Austrian regime under which they had lived. This they fled, just as they did the unspeakable oppression of the Prussians.

What are the characteristic traits of the Polish immigrants? I have often heard them spoken of as "those dirty Polaks," and this did not make me ashamed of them, but rather of those who pronounced such a judgment.

And I must say that I have never heard it from a native American but always from some of those naturalized citizens whose lofty conceptions of life and citizenship are frequently characterized by a supreme contempt for the "greenhorn." Dirty faces and hands are marks of honor; they go with hard, honest work. And the Polish immigrant is almost always a hard worker. He is thrifty and good-hearted, but stubborn. And above all, he is honest. I have had opportunities to talk with real estate men, bankers, and representatives of mail order houses in many states of the Union, all of whom recognized the probity of their Polish clients. As another illustration of the fundamental honesty of these immigrants, I point to the fact that I have never met a single one who would have become an American citizen for purely business reasons. Once he decides to ask for naturalization papers, you may rest assured that the Pole does so from conviction, and that it is his sincere purpose to remain in this country.

There is a great deal of mysticism in the depths of the Polish soul—less indeed than in the Russian, which is more Oriental and fatalistic, but still plenty of belief in supernatural, unknown forces, beliefs such as are always to be found among a people who for centuries have lived in immediate contact with nature, and who have suffered a great deal.

The emotionalism of the Poles is probably responsible for the faults with which they are commonly reproached, viz., that they are quick-tempered and drunkards. With respect to the latter charge, there has been a great deal of exaggeration. Now that prohibition has come, it may seem unimportant to discuss the matter at all, but I venture, nevertheless, to offer a word of explanation. The lot of the Poles has been hard. They have been accustomed to arduous physical labor in a cold climate, and have been hungry for new emotions which would have made them

forget the many injustices they have suffered. We must bear in mind that they have had a lot to forget—wrongs, not only social and economic, but political and national in character. Any one of us is prone to forgive the false step of a man who, without any fault of his own, has met with a series of misfortunes. Should we not be still more indulgent towards a people which for a hundred and thirty years has suffered the most atrocious persecution the world has ever known?

I lay particular stress upon the assertion that the way to the confidence of the Polish immigrant is through his heart. Emotional and suspicious, honest, and grateful for every proof of kindness, but possessed of a psychology rather difficult of comprehension by members of the Anglo-Saxon race, the Pole dislikes to be approached in a formal way. Help him, protect him, show him that you are his disinterested friend, and he will believe in you and follow your advice.

The Poles are capable of high intellectual attainment. School teachers have told me that children of Polish parents are as a general rule the ablest among their pupils. My own experience convinces me that the second generation, or even the children born abroad and brought up in American elementary schools are always thoroughly American. Higher education makes of them brilliant, broad-minded, clever and energetic Americans.

But in a course of lectures on Americanization, we are not so much concerned with the younger generation, whose surroundings have made Americans of them, as with the adult immigrant. Now in dealing with the latter, I must frankly confess that I hate the transitive verb, "Americanize." It implies in fact a *contradictio in terminis*. One cannot Americanize anybody; one may Germanize, Anglicize, Russify. A man can Americanize himself, but to Americanize some one else, is in my opinion, a blasphemy, an insult to

America. One may help other people to Americanize themselves, but the direct effort to Americanize them implies a compulsion which is a negation of the American spirit. We are a nation of over a hundred million souls, and of that number—excluding the immigrants of recent date, the foreigners who are temporarily in the country, and the handful of real or "parlor" Bolsheviks—probably some eighty millions are good and true Americans. Yet they are either immigrants themselves or the children of immigrants, and no one has ever tried to Americanize them. America did it herself, through her spirit and through her ideals. I am under the impression that the Americanization work of which so much is heard nowadays will hamper the process of Americanization, and I shall now state the reasons why I believe this is true with respect to the Poles.

The Polish immigrant came to this country, first of all, because he wanted to escape Russification or Germanization, and he is therefore naturally suspicious of any action tending to make of him something which he is not. But after a few years' sojourn in this country, he readily becomes an American, first of all, because no one tries to impose upon him those compulsory measures which occasioned his flight from Europe, and moreover, because he is emotional, because he is grateful to this country, for giving him an opportunity to make a decent living and to educate his children. While this process may be slow, it is the only sure one. It operates through the heart and is based on love and admiration for this country. Compulsory Americanization, on the other hand, is one of the most dangerous schemes that could be invented. It contains germs of social and national danger which may appear in a most virulent form of malady decades, and even centuries, after infection.

Eight or nine years ago, I talked with a prominent visitor from Poland

who spent several months among the Poles in this country, going to all the larger colonies in the Middle West and studying social conditions. He returned to New York very much depressed. "Why," he said to me, "think of those millions of strong, honest, healthy workingmen who have come over here! They are absolutely lost to Poland. They will not return; they are Americanized in their inmost hearts. And do you know why? Because America was wise enough not to Americanize them. This is verily the only efficacious method of denationalization. Fortunately for us," he concluded, "the Germans and Russians are too stupidly stubborn to learn this lesson."

Now I am myself a victim of this "efficacious" method, an example of the irresistible power of passive Americanization, and a living protest against active Americanization. I am therefore unable to suggest practical methods for pursuing the latter policy. This does not mean that I am an advocate of no action at all. On the contrary, I am convinced that a great amount of useful work may be done with a view to accelerating the process of passive Americanization. Indeed splendid results may be obtained if this work is carried on with earnest civic zeal and with that moderation which is always a *conditio sine qua non* of efficiency.

The immigrant becomes attached to America because America has been good and just to him. Let us show him more goodness, let us give him more justice, and the quicker and stronger will his attachment be. The interruption of immigration has happily put an end to the great evil of exploitation by various labor agencies. Yet exploitation continues, in a different form, for the dishonest broker has replaced the dishonest agent. During the war the foreign workman has saved more money than ever before, and has fallen a prey to the machinations of dishonest financial schemers.

Other present evils are connected

with the labor situation. That strikes are breaking out in almost all the great industries is regrettable, yet it is by no means an unexpected aftermath of the political and economic cataclysm of the last five years. What is more regrettable is the phenomenon which you may observe in any city as soon as a strike breaks out, and this is the cry of "Bolshevism!" I am firmly convinced that among the strikers in the coal mines or in the steel industry not one-half of one per cent has any Bolshevik tendencies. Consequently the accusation is unjust and leads to embitterment. Now, is it not the civic duty of social workers to destroy the causes of social embitterment? I cannot go into details, but the matter is a very serious one and deserves careful study.

Still other evils may be ascribed to the professional politician. I often wonder why his influence upon newly naturalized citizens is not even more nefarious, demoralizing and destructive than it actually is. Perhaps the absence of more disastrous results is to be ascribed to the common sense of the average immigrant. However, the evil is bad enough, and presents another opportunity for protecting the immigrant.

It would be superfluous to recite the whole litany of those social evils which are a source of moral and material danger to the newcomer. The only reason for mentioning them at all is my belief that those who have the welfare of the country at heart and are anxious to serve it by accelerating indirectly the process of Americanization must, unfortunately, proceed through these swamps.

Reference may now be made to certain methods of dealing with the immigrant which are already in use. Night schools for adults are excellent institutions, if they are not compulsory and if the instructor is of the same nationality as the groups he teaches and well acquainted with the psychology of his pupils. I know from my own experience as a night school teacher the value of an intimate knowledge of the stu-

dents' minds. And I have had an opportunity to compare the results I have obtained with those obtained by an American-born instructor possessing far more experience in elementary teaching. Notwithstanding all of the advantages in his favor, I was able to secure better results solely because I knew how to make friends among the workingmen by springing a good Polish joke from time to time.

While the community center is a splendid social institution, I fear that its value for the adult Polish immigrant is doubtful. The public character of the gatherings fills him with an embarrassment which he wants to avoid at any price. Discussions are conducted in a language which he neither speaks nor understands well. The amusements are not attractive to him, for they are not likely to include the music which he loves and the dances which he cannot do without. So while I am inclined to believe that the community center is a most excellent institution for advanced classes I doubt its value for the average immigrant. Offering it to him is, it seems to me, like expounding James's pragmatism or Kant's categorical imperative to high school boys.

Now the process of Americanization, as I see it, must involve primarily the inspiration of confidence not only in American institutions, but also in the individual Americans with whom the immigrant comes in daily contact. Unfortunately the opposite result is frequently obtained, and one of the offenders is the public school. The immigrant child forgets there, and refuses to speak at home, the language of its parents. This naturally arouses the suspicions of the latter, who think: "Why, this is exactly the same oppression that we have been subjected to under German and Russian rule. Here again, Polish speech is interdicted; they use my child as an instrument of denationalization. I must be on my guard." And it goes without saying that the parents then distrust their own child, they distrust the

public school, they distrust the country. A poor result indeed! And this is why I consider it absolutely necessary that the public school teacher should tell the children to speak at home the native language of their parents. In this way the confidence of the parents may be secured and the child may be used as a medium for introducing American democracy to brave and sturdy immigrants. Moreover, such a method would put the problem of Americanization on a much broader and more human basis.

Secretary Lane has pointed out that Americanization must be based on taking as well as on giving, for there are

many precious things which we may learn even from the most modest immigrants. They come from old races possessing highly interesting traditions, folklore, dances, music, applied art, etc. These offerings to America are invaluable for our culture. I am one of those who love America not only because of her past, but primarily because of her future, and I firmly believe that in that future we shall be the first nation in the world—not only in material power, but also in intellectual power. We have all of the means to become such a power. Let us not reject them in a spirit of Prussian narrow-mindedness.

WHAT KIND OF REVOLUTION DO WE WANT IN AMERICA?*

BY HENRY NEUMANN

THE title of today's address may startle you. "Revolution" suggests houses destroyed, shops pillaged, men shooting one another down. Let me say at once, however, that nothing of the sort is necessary if we plan far enough ahead. You say, "Let there be changes of courses, but by evolution." But that word "evolution" means change without plan; it signifies letting things work out in their own way, and slowly or quickly as may chance. If matters are thus let alone, what guarantee is there that they will work out for the better? The evolution of a cold may be a return to health; but it may also be a turn to bronchitis and pneumonia. Letting affairs work out in their own way will never do. We have already had too much of that sort of change. Evolution, for example, brings a rise in costs but not in wages; and men strike. They get their increases; but at once the cost of all they buy is again raised; and the whole vicious circle of

disturbance and agitation and more disturbance goes whirling on. Such is evolution.

Now it is decidedly encouraging that many business men have begun to see that something more foresighted must be attempted at once. Witness, for example, the remarkable declaration made last spring by a group of twenty British Quaker employers, who met for four days to discuss how they could give their religious faith fuller expression in their business life and especially in the relations between employers and employed. They concluded that the supposed right of employers to dictate to workers the conditions under which labor power should be sold could no longer be maintained, that a new day had come, whose watchword was co-operation, and that in practice this meant the frank avowal that all matters affecting the workers should be decided not as heretofore, by the orders of the masters, but by masters and men both. "Pioneers and explorers and road-makers are needed just as urgently in the industrial sphere as in the opening

* An address delivered before the Brooklyn Society for Ethical Culture Sunday, October 19, 1919.

up of new tracks of fertile country," said these British employers; and with an initiative not lacking, we may be sure, in our own energetic country, they have taken it upon themselves, as a religious obligation, to begin building these sorely needed roads.

Such pioneering is already under way in America. A successful department store in Boston has been trying for a dozen years a scheme of industrial representation by which every member of the working staff has a vote in the management. A two-thirds vote of the employees may decide any policy; it can overcome the veto of the employers. There are other places where a similar experiment has been tried with sufficient success to encourage the hope that along some such lines as these the way may be prepared for a very real industrial democracy.

A related movement—shamelessly misrepresented in our conservative press—has been afoot for some time among the farmers of North Dakota. These men awoke to the fact that small groups of speculators controlling the markets in Minneapolis and elsewhere had them entirely at their mercy because they could force the farmers either to sell live stock and grain at a given price or be shut out from any market whatever. The farmers held meetings, studied the problems, organized a political party, the Non-Partisan League, elected a governor in 1916, secured a majority in the legislature in 1918, and thereupon succeeded in passing statutes of a quite unprecedented kind. For example, the state is to erect grain elevators and packing houses where every producer can have his product stored at reasonable rates. A suit to have this legislation declared unconstitutional has been lost; and the verdict of the majority now stands. Here is the beginning of a revolution worked out by due, orderly process of law. The step was attended by some violence indeed; but it was violence fathered by "respectable" opponents who broke up meetings of the League and had the leaders of this quite

American movement mobbed on the charge of being Bolsheviki and traitors.

Why speak of these changes as revolutionary? The word "revolution" is on every lip today; and it will pay us to examine what it means. Most of us associate it with a political revolution by force of arms like that which brought us freedom from a foreign ruler in 1776. But there are other kinds of revolution than political. For instance, the new standing of the world's women may well be designated by that term. Even Italy has at last granted them the vote. There was a time when a woman was little better than the slave of the man. Her person belonged to him. So did her children and her property. A hundred and fifty years ago the English law permitted her master to employ a stick upon her, provided only that it was no thicker than his thumb. This state of affairs has changed. The level of a whole class in society has been raised. And this revolution was wrought not by violence but by the changes in public opinion brought about chiefly by the changes in industrial society. A revolution need not be political. It need not be violent.

I

To lift the subject into its proper perspective, let us draw for a few moments on history to illustrate three types of revolution and to see what each one of these signifies for the America of today and tomorrow. First let us look at the sweeping change known as the Industrial Revolution. One of its very obvious results is the great army of women we now see every day streaming into the cars on their way to factories, to mercantile offices, to schools where they teach or study. There was a time when women had no such callings to take them out of their homes. All their work was done in their own households. There they made clothes, spun thread, baked and brewed and churned. Today they work in factories; or else because factories now make the things once made at home, the women folk go to high school and college. This is the re-

sult of the revolution brought about by the new use of steam power a century and a half ago.

The Industrial Revolution introduced the modern factory and the many problems centering around that object. Weavers, unable to compete at home with the factories, moved into the towns and became factory hands. Slums followed the factories everywhere. So did child labor and the labor of women. Great railways came into being; huge ocean liners were built to carry the products of the factories to every quarter of the globe. The dealings of nation with nation were affected. Competition for new markets to absorb the enormous output of the modern factory or for fields in which to invest the new aggregations of surplus capital brought wars and rumors of war. Many a convenience and necessity have been made accessible by the extraordinary stimulus to science afforded by the Industrial Revolution; but there have also come deeply rooted evils which still keep the human race down.

The important fact is that all these mighty changes were allowed without the slightest attempt to forestall their worse by-products. No men came together and said: "These and these tremendous changes are coming. Let us do our utmost to prevent the human hurt which they will bring." The things just happened without plan. A recent tragedy is a striking illustration. For the past five years the demand for workers drew so many Negroes into the Northern industrial cities that in Chicago, for example, the colored population was doubled; in that period it rose to one hundred and twenty-five thousand. Nobody, however, took the trouble to provide adequate housing for this increased tenantry. They spread over into the white neighborhoods; and the bad blood which usually follows upon such frictions led to riot and slaughter. It was nobody's concern to forestall this congestion. The private initiative to which most of such affairs are still entrusted was quite content to let things

alone in view of the higher rentals it was able to wring from the overcrowding. The incident is typical. Our slums, our constant strikes, our passing of child labor laws only after the mischief already done has become too glaring, are by-products of the Industrial Revolution, a revolution of the planless, let-things-alone type. Is this the sort we want for the years before us now? Rest assured that letting things alone is not going to make them better. It is only too likely now to make them worse.

II

Different from this planless type of revolution is the sort illustrated by the French Revolution, a change worked out with greater deliberateness and with violence. Our Civil War, though we do not usually think of it in these terms, was another instance. It brought a revolution because it raised the status of the Negro slave. And what a cost it entailed in all the needless slaughter and destruction of four years' strife! All this might have been spared, we know now, if the views of Southerners like Lee and Northerners like Lincoln could have prevailed. There were men in the South like Hinton R. Helper who had dared to say that slavery was wrong economically as well as morally; but all these were suppressed with a completeness that allowed the slaveholding oligarchy to run the South straight into ruin. The emancipation of the blacks was worked out in blood; and the consequent bitterness has left the Negro problem to this day still unsolved.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 is another example of the deliberate and violent type. The violence has been bad enough even though it has been grossly exaggerated by a press whose mendacity has been not the least of the moral diseases revealed by this age of war. Incidentally, we may also remark, to condemn the violent seizure of power by a Russian minority is not altogether a just attitude on the part of those who praise Cromwell, the French Revolutionists and other successful players of the same

game. At the present moment, a British minority is holding down Egypt and India by violence. When most men denounce the use of force, it is evident that what they dislike is not the force itself, but the object for which it is employed. The worst kind of force is approved when it is used for approved objects. Witness the silence with which our papers have greeted the atrocities perpetrated by Kolchak and Denikin and the halo of "democracy" they have painted around the heads of these minority leaders. Murder is apparently less wrong when it is used for Czaristic reaction than when it is used to inaugurate Socialism.

I want to see America saved from the Russian experience. There is a hopefulness about our younger country that did not exist in Russia, cursed as that land was for centuries by a stupid, treacherous, blood-guilty Czardom. What changes must come in America should come by the winning over of majority opinion to their side. This elementary principle few will gainsay.

All the greater pity therefore that such ugly moods prevail in our country as today's. Has there ever been a time when it was harder to think straight and without undue emotion? For five years the world has been a slaughterhouse. Day by day for this long period men have been blowing one another to bits by the thousands and tens of thousands. Is it surprising that the mind of the world is now steeped in the suggestion of violence? Five years of burn and shoot and smash are hardly a fit preparation for reasonable, cool-headed agreement. It has been a period when quick, terrific decisions have had to be made by the most autocratic of methods. Instant orders, not reasons but sharp commands, have been the daily procedure. The mood is infectious. Small wonder that on both sides in the industrial struggle, men's minds leap at once to what seems the quickest way to get results, the method of force.

And it must be noted that great masses today are worried and therefore pessimistic and impatient. They have a suspicion that they have been fooled in many ways in regard to the war. They are worried by the rising cost of living. Dr. Woods of the National Council of Education reports that four million children, one out of five, are underfed in this land of plenty. The workers read that the profits of the Beef Trust, which were by no means slender in 1914, have mounted as a result of the war to three times what they were then. Hence the ugly mood in the working classes. The longshoremen refuse to abide by the awards made by the War Labor Board; the printers discard the old union leadership. The more fiery natures in the ranks of labor preach violence. The other camp responds in kind. "Crush the union" is its motto. It does not stop to ask why it is still possible for Judge Gary, for example, to believe that his single undisputed word should dictate to four hundred thousand steel workers the conditions under which these men shall earn their bread and their families shall live. Instead of banishing the autocratic mood, the war has sharpened it in man after man.

The great danger of the present hour is that both sides may fall more and more in love with the iron fist. And to what do such methods lead? Every act of violence makes the other fellow redouble his violence. For my own part, the experience of these years has made me loathe violence more than ever. Violence is as wrong a method of settling grievances between group and group as it is between nation and nation. No revolution by violence!

III

Fortunately there is another kind of revolution within sight. It is the sort suggested in part by the viewpoint of those British Quaker employers and the North Dakota farmers. It is forecast by the recommendation of a royal commission in Great Britain to nationalize the

mines, and here in America by the so-called Plumb Plan for nationalizing the railroads. None of these schemes represents a final solution of our problems. Each raises its own new difficulties. The significance lies in the foreshadowing of a new type of revolution, neither planless nor violent, but deliberate and orderly.

Is this too confident a hope? Business friends tell me that the Plumb Plan, for instance, will not work. They say that the Government could never float a loan to buy out the railroads. They say that the valuation fixed by Mr. Plumb after squeezing the water out of the stock is utterly unfair. They raise other objections. Perhaps they are right, and it may be necessary, when it comes to practice, to modify the Plumb Plan in a number of ways. But are there not elements of exceedingly important value in the proposal? Here is the Railway Brotherhood, one of the most conservative of our labor unions, waking to the fact that there must be a better method of reducing the cost of living than by strikes. They see that increasing wages is no way out of our troubles. They see the dangers in management by a bureaucratic government, and they propose that the roads be operated by the workers themselves in co-operation with the heads of departments and a committee representing the public. They believe it possible to engender a new spirit whereby the work will be done more efficiently than heretofore, chiefly because the roads will be operated not for the benefit of financiers and speculators but for genuine public service. Things are moving faster than our newspaper editors seem to desire when this plan—a modification of what the English call Guild Socialism as contrasted with bureaucratic State Socialism—is fathered by one of our old-fashioned unions. And it is notable that this first radical proposal to reach the stage of an actual program for consideration by Congress comes not from the foreigners whom our papers so love to blame for today's unrest

but from a union whose membership is almost exclusively native.

Whether this plan or the efforts of the farmers in the Non-Partisan League will prosper or not, the important fact is that a new direction has been marked out—an attempt to look ahead and, instead of letting things work out in their own way, to shape them wisely enough beforehand. When the *Titanic* went down eight years ago, we learned that the thousand lives which were lost could have been saved if there had been a larger number of life-boats. That sufficient number is now guaranteed by law. Must we always wait until the mischief has already been done?

IV

Things cannot go on as they have been going and the most practical of practical men are those who recognize the fact. Can America expect to escape the social revolution that is coming upon all the rest of the world? Nay, should not America be the quickest to welcome the moral and religious revolution implied in the new tendency?

Those British Quaker employers saw the light when they concluded to take their working-people into partnership. They were assuredly on the right road when they declared that they must try to see how they could put their religion and ethics really at work in the industrial life. It was not enough, as heretofore, that employees should not be overworked as if they were tools or commodities, mere things, not enough that they should be protected against underpay. The wiser employer has moved on to a more advanced viewpoint. He sees that the workers require an utterly new standing, a recognition of a certain new dignity in calling them into democratic sharing of responsibility.

This after all is the prime consideration, this recognizing the right of the men to participate in the control of their work. It is the point one would suppose likely to carry home with special force in a repub-

lic based on the faith that men grow great to the extent that they themselves carry the responsibility for their collective life. What else does democracy mean? It means not living one's life just as one happens to feel like living it, but sharing in an effective way the responsibility and the initiative of the groups in which we live. Whether our group is the home, or the city, or the factory where we work, or the school where we teach, our life in it is democratic to the extent that our vote counts in deciding what the life of that group is going to be.

Many employers would like to introduce this conception into their own business, but they hesitate like fathers who fear that their sons cannot adequately bear a large responsibility. There is reason enough for the fear. Many an excellent scheme of progress is a thousand times easier to talk about than to put into practice. And our labor unions as they are organized at present are far from being the last word in democracy. They have their incompetent leaders and their grafters. They have their "rough-necks" and their hot-heads who are just as autocratic as Judge Gary. But when the worst charges against the unions have all been uttered, we must still remember the immense service they have done in preventing the existence of a permanently servile class of workers absolutely at the mercy of the men on top. We must recognize that times have changed for the whole globe and that we can no more ex-

pect to deal without the new attitude of the working classes than a man can expect his boy of sixteen to go back and be as implicitly obedient as he was at six. The business men who see furthest ahead admit this. They know that they can give their men gymnasiums, rest-rooms, insurance policies and other forms of welfare work, but that these benevolent paternalisms will not settle the problem. Not gifts from above but the right to share in the ordering of their lives—to recognize this requirement of the workers is the next step forward to a better industrial day.

Beyond that day is a day of still ampler prospects, a day when for all men and women on this earth, their daily work, not their leisure, will be their chief opportunity to make themselves better men and women. Life never stands still. In the years ahead people's lives will be as different from what they are today as the life of the present is different from that of a century ago. But the ethical spirit wants it to be not merely different but better. Who that thinks of the day when his sons and grandsons are to be doing his work does not want them to find working conditions more human than today's, less of the sub-human scramble they so often are now and more genuinely in keeping with faith in democratic manhood? New avenues for the ethical march of men need constructing. Surely the initiative and the brilliant daring which have served America in the past will be available here.

A METHOD OF STUDYING INDUSTRIAL QUESTIONS

BY ALEXANDER M. BING

NINE years ago, when, at the suggestion of Dr. Adler, the Industrial Group was organized by members of the New York Society for Ethical Culture the need for the kind of work which such a group could do was not so apparent to the average member of the Ethical So-

cieties as it is today. It then seemed necessary to urge upon employers, employees and the public, the importance of a more careful consideration of industrial questions. Today these questions have become the most serious that our nation is facing, they are the dominant factors in

the political structure of every European country, and in fact are pressing for solution all over the world.

Many of the most important things in life are unfortunately those about which we know the least. This is true of the proper organization of an industrial society and the right relationship between capital and labor, between employer and employee. The Industrial Group recognizes the difficulties that surround these questions and the need for more knowledge and more light. We are therefore first of all a study group, endeavoring to obtain as much information and guidance as we possibly can, both from experts outside of the group and from our own members.

There are four lines of activity, more or less distinct, which the group has followed and which will be of interest to anyone who may be considering the organization of a similar body.

The first of these is the public lecture, which is designed to present to the members a discussion of every phase of the relationship between employer and employee. A list of some of the subjects, and the speakers who dealt with them at our meetings, follows.

Collective bargaining, the eight-hour day and various aspects of unionism were discussed by:

- Mr. Samuel Gompers, President, American Federation of Labor.
- Mr. Warren S. Stone, Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotives Engineers.
- Miss Mary E. Dreier, former President, Women's Trade Union League of New York.
- Mr. J. P. Coughlin, President, Brooklyn Central Union.
- Mr. John Golden, Secretary, United Textile Workers of America.
- Mr. Glenn E. Plumb, attorney for the Railroad Brotherhoods.

Phases of industrial education:

- Mr. Magnus W. Alexander, now Secretary, National Industrial Conference Board.
- Mr. Herman Schneider, Dean of the Engineering School, University of Cincinnati.
- Mr. F. C. Henderschott, Manager, Bureau of Education New York Edison Company.
- Mr. Arthur Williams, Manager, New York Edison Company.

Industrial betterment and profit sharing:

- Mr. William Cooper Proctor, President, Proctor and Gamble.
- Mr. William C. Redfield, Secretary of Commerce.
- Dr. Alice Hamilton, Federal Department of Labor.
- Dr. C. T. Graham Rogers, New York State Department of Labor.
- Mr. John Calder, General Manager, Remington Typewriter Company.
- Dr. E. E. Pratt.

Employment management:

- Mr. Mark M. Jones, Director of Personnel, Thomas A. Edison Company.
- Mr. William M. Leiserson, Working Conditions Service, Federal Department of Labor.

Strikes of national importance:

- Prof. E. R. A. Seligman, Columbia University.
- Mr. Robert W. Bruere, Director, Bureau of Industrial Research.
- Mr. James Flood, President, Mining Department, American Federation of Labor.
- Mr. John A. Fitch, New York School of Social Work.

Other aspects of industrial problems:

- Mr. Louis D. Brandeis, now Justice of the United States Supreme Court.
- Mr. Francis P. Heney, of California.

If the subject discussed was controversial, an effort was made to secure representatives of both sides; in practice, however, it proved extremely difficult to get speakers to participate in what practically amounted to a public debate. This practice has however been followed whenever possible and is strongly recommended. At the conclusion of the addresses, questions from the floor were called for, and frequently the informal discussions which followed were the most interesting part of the meeting.

We have also held smaller gatherings, without a formal address, for the further consideration of topics discussed at one of the larger meetings, or for the discussion of general industrial problems. On these occasions we have found it good practice to have one or two of the members prepare in advance to lead the discussion.

Visits have been made by members of the group to factories where work was being done for the improvement of indus-

trial relations. A number of trips were made to factories in the neighborhood of New York City, and two longer excursions involved the inspection of plants in other cities. Arrangements were made in advance and permission was obtained to visit coal mines, steel mills, and other large industrial works.

Practical work has also been carried on by committees and by individual members of the group, although the possibilities along this line have by no means been exhausted. One important undertaking was an Exhibit of Better Industrial Relations, which attracted attention throughout the country. Through this exhibit an effort was made to present graphically the treatment which different industrial problems were receiving. The charts which were shown illustrated the prevailing conditions with reference to such matters as wages and hours, group insurance, saving funds and sanitation. A large amount of material dealing with industrial education was also collected and exhibited. Although the exhibit was held only five years ago, very little material was then available with reference to the representation of employees in the management of industry. Circulars were sent all over the country, and an earnest effort was made to obtain information concerning every experiment that had been undertaken, but it was impossible to find more than a very few firms which gave their employees representation. Rapid developments have since taken place in this field, and today there are several hundred examples of substantial representation of the workers in the management of industry.

The group also cooperated in employment work, and for a time offered to its members the services of industrial experts who made examinations of their plants and offered suggestions for betterment.

During the present season, a meeting for the discussion of the industrial situation was addressed by Mr. Basil M. Manly, until recently Joint Chairman of the Na-

tional War Labor Board, and Mr. R. J. Caldwell, President of R. J. Caldwell and Company. At another meeting, the adoption of the Plumb Plan was advocated by Mr. Frederic C. Howe, representing the Plumb Plan League, and its rejection by Mr. Ivy Lee, of the Association of Railway Executives. The experiment undertaken by the Army Ordnance Department, in giving to the workers representation in the management of the plant at the Rock Island Arsenal, was discussed by Mr. Ordway Tead, an industrial engineer who has made a special study of the Arsenal. Other meetings, to be held later in the season, will deal with shop committees and with representation in industry.

A group doing work of this sort should be composed, if possible, of both employers and employees. The New York group was at first called the "Business Men's Group," but it was soon realized that this was a mistake, and that the members should represent both capital and labor, as well as the public. A name, therefore, which indicated that the group was designed to consist only of employers, was not a proper one, and made it difficult to interest members from all walks of life. For this reason the name was changed to the "Industrial Group," and efforts were made to interest employees as well as employers in its activities. In this respect, only partial success has been achieved; most of the members and most of those who attend the meetings are employers, although a number of workers and trade union representatives are included.

There can be no doubt that the group has served a useful purpose in spite of the fact that it has realized only a very small part of its possibilities. First of all, it aroused the interest of its members in industrial questions at a time when most of them did not realize how necessary it was for them to acquire a better understanding of these matters. Moreover, the group has served to make both employers and employees realize that technical

knowledge is essential in dealing with labor problems, and that, difficult as it may be for the employer to do so, it is incumbent upon him to become an expert on this as on other subjects with which his business requires him to deal. If he is unable to become an expert himself, he must procure the services of someone who is.

We have all been made to realize in the last six months that even the wisest know all too little about these problems, and that earnest study must be undertaken by all who come in contact with industry if the proper solution is to be found. The Industrial Group has been a means—if

only a small one—of bringing together men and women who are in practical contact with business and manufacturing, and of placing before them the views and experiences of technical experts, business men and labor leaders. The speakers as well as the audiences have represented all the different degrees of radicalism and conservatism. The effect of this experience could only be to widen the outlook of the members and to enable them to face their own individual problems with deeper knowledge and a broader vision. As a matter of fact, many of the members have stated that this has been the outcome of their interest in the group.

BOOK REVIEW

AN AMERICAN LABOR POLICY. By Julius Henry Cohen. The Macmillan Company. Pp. 110.

Mr. Cohen's latest book is a sequel to his *Law and Order in Industry*. Although the new volume lacks the narrative interest of the classic account of the Protocol, it is in form and substance well contrived to hold the attention of the reader, and more particularly of that reader who needs most to heed the enlightened message of the author, namely, the busy employer.

The first part of the work contrasts the violence of Russian and French revolutionary methods with the "modern spirit" evinced by the Rockefeller and similar plans, by the War Emergency and Reconstruction Conference at Atlantic City, and the report of the British Commission on Industrial Unrest. There is also a chapter on morale in industry drawing lessons from war experience, and applying the principles of the present school of industrial and economic psychology. The author draws the tentative conclusion that "the ethical conception of personal and human worth is at one with the conception of sound industrial organization."

The latter half of the volume consists of a concise statement of principles on the right to organize, the right to strike, the control of "hiring and firing," the treatment of grievances, and collective bargaining. If

"industrial codes" such as that recently suggested by Senator Kenyon, ever approach realization, the codifiers might well follow the suggestions of the present writer. His definite suggestions include the registration and official recognition of trade agreements, the establishment of tribunals for their interpretation and enforcement, and the thoroughgoing organization of all parties to such agreements. The enforcement is to depend largely upon disciplinary action, such as the imposition of fines and expulsion of offending units, and upon the publicity gained by such judicial inquiry. Naturally, the solidarity of employers and workers alike is indispensable, and Mr. Cohen clearly approves of the recognition of the American Federation of Labor and labor unions generally.

The persuasive force of the author's brief exposition lies in the use of analogies drawn from the development of the common law, the use of constitutional government, and from international relations. The plea for "constitutionalized industry," is directed to both sides in the present struggle. For those who would preserve intact the irrational methods of the present employer, it points to the inevitable strife and revolution. To those who would put into the hands of labor an equally arbitrary power, it presents the alternative of continuous and ordered progress and development.

R. W. C.

THE ETHICAL CULTURE MOVEMENT

Important Lectures Published

The attention of readers of *THE STANDARD* is called to the second of the series of Americanization lectures which appears in this issue. The author, Mr. Albert Moravski Nawench, is lecturer on Polish history and literature in Columbia University. Mr. Nawench has had unusual opportunities to familiarize himself with the problem which he discusses, and offers suggestions of great practical value.

The Women's Organizations of the New York Society, under whose auspices the course of lectures was given, have courteously arranged for the publication of a number of them in *THE STANDARD*. Readers are asked to assist in giving the widest possible publicity to these important contributions to the discussion of a most pressing public question. The last lecture in the series was given on February 13th by Dr. Adler, who took as his subject, "Along What Lines Shall We Direct Our Efforts at Americanization?"

Leader's Anniversary Celebrated

What has been characterized as the happiest and most friendly social gathering in the history of the New York Society was held on Lincoln's Birthday, when between five and six hundred persons assembled in the Meeting House to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of Dr. Elliot's coming to the Society. The celebration, which was a surprise to the guest of honor, was preceded by a dinner. Valentines of various kinds were presented by the Society groups, beginning with a large birthday cake from the Ethical Culture School, and ending with a clever skit by the Girls' and Boys' Clubs, the Junior Group and Hudson Guild. Dr. Adler read an appreciation on behalf of the leaders and then presented, in the shape of a "travel fund," the gift of over three hundred friends.

Hudson Guild Jubilee

Another celebration scheduled for the near future is that of the Hudson Guild, which was established by Dr. Elliott twenty-five years ago this month. A dinner to commemorate the occasion is to be given in the Assembly Hall of the Metropolitan Life Building on Saturday evening, March 13th. Invitations have been sent both to uptown and downtown members of the Guild, as well as to other interested friends, and a large attendance

is anticipated. Prominent visitors, as well as representatives of the Guild itself, are expected to be among the speakers who will do honor to the occasion.

A New Cooperative Store

Arnold Toynbee House, in New York City, has established a cooperative grocery store which appears to have met a real neighborhood need. In the six weeks that the store has been open, the small capital invested has been turned over several times. The house has also inaugurated a series of concerts, which are given on the third Sunday afternoon of each month. Excellent music has been offered, and the interest aroused has been so great that not all of the people who came could be accommodated.

Brooklyn Society Notes

Since the opening of the lecture season last fall over sixty new members have joined the Brooklyn Society. The open forum meetings of the Men's Club are held once each month. The speaker on March 1st was Mr. George B. Noble, one of the members of the Peace Commission who resigned in protest against the treaty. The subject discussed was: "The Case of Egypt as a Type of Modern Imperialism."

Prof. Schmidt in St. Louis

Upon the occasion of his annual visit to St. Louis last month, Professor Nathaniel Schmidt addressed two of the Sunday morning meetings of the Society, and spoke before the Reading Circle and Men's Club, as well as at a social supper arranged by the Woman's Auxiliary. The Young People's Association found out that Professor Schmidt was an enthusiastic skater, and gave a skating party in his honor at the Winter Garden.

Entertain Convalescent Soldiers

The Woman's Auxiliary devoted five days in February to the entertainment of 200 invalid soldiers in the Red Cross Hut at the St. Louis Marine Hospital. This work was undertaken in cooperation with the Board of Religious Organizations which is promoting a city-wide social and civic campaign. The Auxiliary has been able to present to the Executive Board of the Society a fund of one thousand dollars, the proceeds of its bazaar and lecture courses.

D. S. H.

SHALL THE TEACHERS AFFILIATE WITH LABOR UNIONS?*

BY FELIX ADLER

MY proper subject today is the ideal ends to which teachers should set themselves—the specific, incomparable, service which teachers as one of the social groups are to render to the nation. In the light of these large considerations I take up the immediate practical question whether teachers should affiliate with labor unions.

The proposal on the face of it has an air of strangeness. Why should teachers tie themselves more closely to associations of manual workers than to medical associations or lawyers' associations, etc.? What particular community of interest is there between those who instruct children in schools and those who work in mills and factories? The obvious reason of course is that teachers (there are 23,000 in this city) are employees, while physicians, lawyers, ministers, work independently on their own account. And there is a feeling that all who must look to employers for wages or salaries, have certain interests in common, the two chief being maintenance of the standard of living as expressed in wages or salary, and protection against injustice and oppression. Is there not a deep cut between those who are dependent on the good sense and good will of others for their living, and those who can pilot their own vessel?

But among the arguments urged against the suggested affiliation the first is that the employees of the public—city, state and nation—are in a different category from the employees of private individuals or corporations, and that the former cannot be allowed the same liberty, for instance, the liberty to refuse to work or strike, as the latter. The reasons adduced are two.

(1) That in any function with which the state charges itself, all who perform that function are in the service of the state. All the letter-carrying in the country is done by the United States letter-carriers. There is practically no letter-carrying by private individuals. All or almost all the policing of a city is done by the official police, the number of private watchman being negligible. In consequence, if those who are employed by the state suddenly strike, there is no possibility of promptly filling their places.

(2) Because the things done by the state, the functions it performs, are indispensable, and will not bear interruption. If the police of a city strike, the lives and property of the citizens may be at the mercy of criminals. The militia, it is true, may be called in, but the militia are likewise employees of the state, and how if they too, in turn should refuse to perform their duties! The same applies, with somewhat less urgency, but with equally disastrous effects, to the mail service of the country. And the same applies to teachers. If the teachers should strike during the school year, the business of education would be thrown into disorder, the children running wild on the streets, or remaining unoccupied in their homes. Again suppose that the firemen should strike. Presently a dangerous conflagration breaks out in the business section or in one of the residence quarters. Shall the city be allowed to burn down while the firemen are adjusting their controversies with the department? Suppose that all the surgeons were in government employ, and suppose the surgeons should strike—would the consequent situation be tolerable?

The government, therefore, because it controls all who do a specific thing for the community, and because the thing

* An address delivered before the New York Society for Ethical Culture Sunday, November 23, 1919.

done is indispensable, is in a relation to its employees plainly different from that of the small employer. This point was well brought out in the recent Boston police strike. The verdict of Massachusetts and of the country in general, was in this case in principle correct, though I must add that in the application of the principle to the special circumstances the correctness and justice of it is open to serious doubt.

I have the facts from one of the most conservative citizens of Boston. He is a large employer of labor, certainly not biased on the side opposite to that on which his interests lie, and moreover he was in close and constant touch with the situation before the outbreak. The pay of the police force was in many cases deplorably inadequate and the conditions inexcusably bad. At one of the stations, for instance, 125 men were lodged. As the shifts alternated, the men who came in were forced to take their sleep in beds still warm from the preceding shift that had only just left them. The place was filthy in the extreme, and in every way below the common requirements of decency. The men on the force complained of excessive punishments. They had petitioned respectfully for redress without avail. In one instance a night patrolman, having a large family, one of the children a chronic invalid, found himself unable to meet the expenses of his household. Under pressure of necessity he broke the rule which forbids the men who do duty at night to take any paid job during the day. There was no complaint in respect to his vigilance during night duty. He was one of the best patrolmen of the city, but he had broken the rule, was reported, and was sentenced by the commissioner to 270 hours of extra duty without pay. The citizen from whom I have this information went to the Governor. The Governor, according to the Constitution, has the appointment of the Police Commissioner of Boston, but he refused to lift a finger.

This brings into view a side of the mat-

ter which has been overlooked in the sharp reactions of public opinion on the police strike in Boston and that is very pertinent to the case of the teachers which we are discussing and to all state employees. The government is a very powerful employer, an almost omnipotent employer. If men in private industry find the wages too low, or the treatment cruel, they can, in the last analysis, have recourse to the strike. If government employees are prohibited from seeking this means of redress, how are they to secure relief? It is said that public opinion must come to their aid. But see how public opinion has acted in the case of the Boston police strike—how sharp, how decisive in the matter of the abstract principle involved, how thoughtless as to the merits of the specific case! Public opinion is like a searchlight restlessly picking out some one object and then another, never sufficiently steady or competent to take in a whole situation. I also believe that public opinion must help. But provision must be made that public opinion shall be duly organized.

But there is another argument still to be considered in this connection. The American Federation of Labor, it is said, does not favor strikes except as a last weapon to be held in reserve. Affiliations with labor unions therefore would not mean that the teachers shall strike in sympathy with plumbers and painters or garment-workers; it will not necessarily mean that they shall use the weapon of the strike at all. What it will mean is that they will have the support of the large body of manual laborers in vindicating their rightful claims. The matter thus stated opens up the ultimate, fundamental issue involved in this discussion.

I have to remind you of the ideas presented in my recent address. I then took the ground that the conflict between the labor unions and employers springs in the main from the individualistic or self-regarding view as opposed to the social view. Persons engaged in an industry render a service to society, employers and wage-earners alike. Nevertheless, the service for them is a second-

ary, almost negligible consideration. The object they have in view is to make money, that is they utilize the service as a means of gain for themselves. The next step in the evolution of industry should be the prevalence of the conception that society is composed of great vocational groups, that each of these groups has a distinct, specialized service to render, and this service idea should be substituted for the individualistic money-gaining idea. The constitution of industry towards which we should work is one from which the employer as such will disappear; in which the various functionaries, those that have the superior organizing ability as well as those who discharge the less vital but yet indispensable functions, shall be salaried like the officials of church and state at present; and in which all who are engaged in industry will be treated as thinkers, the work to be made, as far as it possibly can, an incentive towards thinking; and, secondly, in which all shall be treated as persons having each a will and on that account entitled to a share in the government of the industry.

That a great change in men's ideas is taking place in this direction is shown by the constitution of the building trades in London, in which the statement is made that "all the members of this trade consider themselves an organized unit for public service." Another sign of progress is the concession of the English Premier to the Railway Union, inviting them, in connection with directors and government officials, to undertake the management of the railroads. These ideas are not really radical; they are in the highest sense constructive, and in so far conservative.

The labor union as it exists today, representing one large fraction of those engaged in industry, arrayed in hostility against another fraction, numerically the smaller, but in respect to power more influential, is obsolescent. It is, I believe, still necessary, but it will become less and less so; and my point is that it is a mistake for the teachers—let them form as-

sociations called unions or by any other name—as a group to submerge themselves in the mass of associations called labor unions, that represent a stage in industrial development which we are on the point of growing out of. The higher vocations, and that of the teacher is certainly a higher vocation, in one sense the highest, should lead in supplanting the money point of view by the service point of view. They should not therefore relapse upon the level of those who are still struggling upward from the lower plane.

But teachers should unite and the one prime object towards which, when uniting, they should work, is teachers' representation in the formulation of educational policies, and in the government of the educational system. If we ask for the humblest, half-skilled laborer in the mill that through his representatives he shall have a share in the government of that mill; if we expect helpful suggestions, at least as to details, from those engaged even in the most subordinate processes, how can we fail to apply the same point of view to a body of men and women like the teachers? If we grant representation to the workers in an industry, how can we fail to see the importance and necessity of granting representation to those engaged in the science and fine art of teaching? But representation to be worth while must be really representative, not, as at present in this city in the so-called Teachers' Council, a mere simulacrum. It must include all the departments, all branches—the kindergarten, the elementary school, the high school, the commercial and technical schools, the college—and the body thus elected must have power. Without power there cannot be responsibility and without the sense of responsibility there will not be progress.

If teachers were thus included within the governing authority of the educational system, there would be no need to rely on the pressure of the labor unions in order to secure a hearing for rightful demands, and protection against arbitrary treat-

ment by superiors. All the protection, all the countenance they need, would be found within the system of which they are a principal part.

In addition, what is now the Board of Education would have to be reconstructed, from the social point of view. In this upper house of the government of the school system there should sit representatives of all the vocational groups outside the group of teachers, representatives of the manufactures, of the merchants, of the professional groups, the physicians, the lawyers, etc. It should be their function both to serve as a senate or upper chamber, and more especially to bring to bear upon the educators the demands of life. The schools must fit for life those who pass through them. There is constant complaint that the schools do not perform this function. The upper house, the representatives of those who are engaged in the different activities of the work-a-day world, must pull up the school system, which is forever tending to slacken and slow down, so that it shall fit its pupils for the business of life—yes, for the business of living rightly.

I have thus sufficiently indicated my position toward the practical question with which we started. It does not appeal to me that the forward-looking teachers will do well to submerge themselves in the labor unions as they are. Assistance to labor unions they can give in many ways, best of all by such transformation of their own group as will serve for an example, by substituting the service idea for the idea of gain, and by the inclusion of all who function in the social group, in place of the antagonism of those who are hired against those who hire them. But in announcing my subject for today I also indicated that I should like to sketch the larger import of the new conception, using the vocational group of the teachers as an illustration, and to this part of my subject I must now address myself.

Emerson's advice to the young man is: "Hitch your wagon to a star." In thinking out this figure, we find that there is an air of the ludicrous about it. If the star

is fixed, the wagon will be dangling in mid-air. If the stars move, as they are said to do, with incredible rapidity, your wagon, when hitched to one of them, will be promptly dashed to pieces. The metaphor is really descriptive of those who seek to attach things earthly to things divine in such a way as to immediately realize the ideal. There is another figure that commends itself to me. It is that of the master of the ship who sails out to sea and who, amid the commotion of the waves and the perils of the voyage, takes his reckoning by the stars. The stars are very far distant, unapproachable, high above, yet he can take his reckoning by them, safely lay his course by observing them.

I can put my thought another way. President Hadley, in opening the academic year at Yale last October, said that what the world needs, what America needs, what the university intends to give to the student, is vision. Strangely enough he went on to define vision as the ability to see things as they are, to see them without preconception and bias. But he omitted to say that there are two kinds of vision, and that each is worth little without the other: one is the ability to see things as they are, the other the ability to see them as they ought to be. One is to see the stars above, the other the shoals, the coming gales that endanger the ship on the waters. The idealist is apt to err in the one direction, the materialist in the other. We need to acquire both kinds of vision. Indeed, it is for the idealist especially important to see things as they are, else how can he ever wisely contribute to change them?

If then, obeying this injunction, I try to see the actual business of teaching as it is carried on in the United States at this present time, I find the facts sufficiently staggering. In Massachusetts, one of the most advanced states of the Union, I read the other day that among the teachers there are 2000 high school graduates, whose sole equipment is the kind of general education received in the ordinary high school, without any special training

whatsoever for their difficult and delicate craft. At the recent Institute meeting in Atlantic City it was stated that there are a million pupils in this country intrusted to young persons under twenty-one years of age. The normal schools are in many instances entirely below standard, and the number of students enrolling in them is rapidly falling off. The pay of teachers is, with some exceptions here and there, miserably insufficient. In the rural districts the ungraded school, an educational monstrosity, survives. In the great cities school accommodation is inadequate, the classes are overcrowded, with as many as fifty pupils in a class, education is carried on by the wholesale method, while the direction of the vast systems is in the hands of boards of education composed of men and women often well-intentioned indeed, but as a rule inexpert as to the subjects and problems they have to meet.

Nevertheless, among this army of instructors so rudely marshalled there are to be found superior intelligences, personalities of great charm, and above all, not a few who follow their vocation devotedly, and in a consecrated spirit; and I am assured that the number of such persons is on the increase. They form a nucleus which can gradually be widened out. And so let us take our reckoning from the stars, however the ship of education may be laboring in the trough of the sea.

I have already laid it down that the community is to be regarded as consisting of certain great social or vocational groups, and I am to briefly point out how the teachers, regarded as a single group, having a definite vocation, and a specific social service to render, should be organized. I apply to them as an initial requirement that they shall define what precisely is the nature of the service which they are to render to the community. The food producers know what they have to do; what is asked of them is to produce food. The commodity makers know—to produce commodities. But what is the specific service of the teachers? Henry Adams, you will remember,

threw up his hands in despair at this question and over and over again pronounced education a failure, because he saw no purpose in life, no worthy, satisfying end to which his so-called education tended. What is the end to which the whole vocational group of teachers should bend their energies? The function of the teaching body, as I understand it, is sublime. It is to replace individualism by the service idea, to transfer the center of gravity in human life from self-regardingness to self-expression in service. The teachers, the schools, the universities, whatever is included under the term "education," are together the agency to accomplish gradually this grand task of transference. It cannot be done by mere exhortation, but by method, by science, by art, this lofty task of modifying human nature, of altering the center of attraction around which human lives pivot.

If you ask why this conception has not hitherto prevailed, and does not yet prevail, why our educational institutions are still in a bad way, we shall find that the public is as much to blame or even more to blame than the teachers. They say that where there is a demand there is a supply. There is not the right supply in education because there has not been the demand for it on the part of the public, the parents. I make a distinction between demand and need. There is need of wiser teaching, finer schools, heaven knows how grievous is the need!—but it does not follow that where this is a need there is also a demand. The demand appears where the need is realized. By the parents, the public, as a rule the need is not realized. The parents themselves are individualists. What is it that they expect on the part of the school for their child? In the newer schools, they expect that the health conditions shall be as perfect as possible, that the latest methods in psychology shall be applied, that the child shall obtain the necessary equipment in knowledge, power of observation and the like, very often that the pupil shall be so taught as to pass the entrance examination to college, and finally that all the years

of school and college life shall fit him for what is called success, for material success, or reputation, or social prestige—the friendships and connections to be made by the young person, lad or girl, in college, being especially emphasized. Now all these desires and demands are self-regarding, the outgrowth of a vicarious egotism—the egotism of the parent vicariously operating on behalf of the ego of the child. The world, its resources, society and its possibilities and its opportunities, are likened to a mine. The young person is to be so educated as to be able to draw treasure from the mine for his private enrichment, his glory, his success. The function of the vocational group of teachers is to contend against this foe of progress, this degrader of human life, this self-regarding attitude. The function of the school is to fill the young with the social spirit, to distribute the oncoming generation among the various social groups, according to the fitness of each young person to enter into and to improve the special service work of his group.

There are three requirements that I counted in my recent address, in which the social or ethical purpose as against the ego purpose takes shape. The first is,—whatever your vocation, consider yourself the agent of the group charged with that vocation; consider yourself one of the fountain heads through which the waters of life that flow in your group are to issue,—be impregnated with the group idea as the priesthood of the Roman Church are impregnated with, overawed by, the sense of the business for which they exist on this earth.

The second requirement is: seek to perfect the work of your vocation, which as yet is so imperfectly done in every one of the vocations. Vindicate your ego, your individuality, within the group, by drawing your entire group up with you to higher standards, to higher performance.

Most of all, look upon the work done in your group as the opportunity, the spiritual pretext, for interweaving relations of harmonious furtherance between the hu-

man souls that are congregated with you in the common workshop.

If the vocational group of teachers is to be the agent for infusing this social purpose into the next generation, it must set the example; it must organize its own vocational group along the same three lines. The 23,000 teachers of New York City must regard themselves as a single corpus, each member animated by the same objective, the same spirit and purpose, looking toward the same objective. It must include, as I have said, all who teach—the kindergarten teacher, the elementary teacher, the high school teacher, the college and university teacher, the continuation school teachers, the teachers of adults who are engaged in the actual work of life, and who seek to gain a clearer understanding of the principles that underlie their work. The vocational group must be all-inclusive. In the council of which I spoke earlier in my address which is to share in the government of the system, each of these branches and departments must be represented. It is likewise of the essence of the thought that each member should, as far as possible, gain a comprehensive survey of all the various operations embraced within the group activity. There is a common end towards which they are all directed, and from the lowest to the highest they should each pass forward and backward the same torch to neighbor or superior.

On the second requirement that every one engaged in teaching should seek to contribute his mite toward the improvement of teaching, I need hardly dilate. Education has been compared to horticulture. The true gardener is one who loves his flowers; the true educator is one who loves humans, who has a friendly eye and a delicate touch for each specimen of the species. The true gardener is one who studies the soil in which his plants will best grow, the enemies that threaten them, the conditions to which they should or should not be exposed, and who also seeks to produce new varieties. But our knowledge of the soil in which human beings can best grow is still very

unsure indeed. The same is true with respect to the enemies that threaten their mental and moral vitality—and as to the individuality of the child, though all are agreed that it should be respected, yet the individuality of a child is an extremely elusive thing, and exceedingly difficult to discern. There is great cry and little wool in regard to the methods of developing it, yes, the whole science and art of education is still in its infancy. But this very fact is a challenge, not a discouragement, opening to the educator a way in which he can affirm his ego, socially affirm it. For I do not intend, when I say that the member should be impregnated with the group spirit, be the agent of the group, that he should be effaced in it, but rather that he should be one of the organs of its expression; one of those who draws the whole group up after him to higher standards.

The third requirement is that the life in the school, and the work done there, should be the background on which stands out that which matters most,—the interweaving of the personal relations. This can best be accomplished by creating relations of reciprocal furtherance between members of the teaching staff, by student self-government, by enlisting the interest of the more advanced students in the more backward, and by connecting the school as a whole with the social needs and interests of the surrounding community.

In our Ethical School we are endeavoring to approximate to this ideal. Our school means so much to us. We set such a high stake upon it. It is so integrally and essentially the most genuine expression of our Ethical Movement, because the aim of the Movement is just to contribute toward the transference from the individualist to the service point of view in all departments of human existence, and because the school is the best instrument and agent for accomplishing the transference.

The school is a distributing agency, feeding the social groups. But it has also a high obligation toward the nation in

which all these groups are embraced. And here we come, lastly, upon a vital question, one which might be called at present the burning question of the kind of Americanization that ought to be undertaken in the schools. Let the French teacher be French in spirit, and the English teacher English in spirit; there is no doubt that the American teacher in the American school should likewise be American in spirit. Yet it behooves us, for fear that we drift into sentimentalism, or what is worse, an all too narrow notion of patriotism, to be very careful in defining what is to be understood by Americanism. As I think, it means first and above all, love for America, and that a love saturated with reverence. Four hundred years and more have elapsed since the discovery of America. These four centuries have seen epic deeds done, tragedies enacted, and resurrections out of ruin, and great names in which great memories are enshrined. Yet not the foreign immigrant only, but the native population of the present generation as well, while they may be familiar with the bare facts of American history, are too often but little imbued with reverence for our past. This reverence does not by any means imply an attitude of servility towards the past, or the kind of conservatism that would keep unaltered the institutions that have come down to us from the past. On the contrary, reverence toward ancestors means, that in a spirit of appreciation for the efforts they put forth in their day, we try to be worthy of them by putting forth similar efforts, by exhibiting similar qualities in dealing with our vaster problems, and doing justice to the conditions of life in our day as the Fathers of the Republic strove to do justice to the conditions of their day. To stand still is not to be reverent, but either to be stupid or arrogantly selfish.

There must be changes. It is un-American to resist change. No vital thing can continue to live and remain unchanged. America is the most vital thing on this earth. To keep things as they have been, whether from a predisposition

towards conservatism, or out of regard for egotistic interests, is un-American. On the other hand, it is the unalterable axiom of America that whatever changes come must come by persuasion, and not by violence. The one method that is intolerable, which it is bred in the bones of the American people not to tolerate, is to attempt change by force. It matters not how desirable the change may be; it matters not how blameworthy you may think those who withstand the change.

I think I need not further argue this point. But what perhaps needs to be emphasized is that any change may come, and must be permitted to come, of which the majority are persuaded. You and I are probably not communists. I certainly am not. I remember indeed that some very good people were communists. In the early Christian communities, for instance, they had all things in common. And Plato sketched an ideal communism in his *Republic*. Still, I do not lean that way, and I fancy that most of you do not. But if the majority of the American people were persuaded that communism is the desirable plan of living, then communism would become rightly the law of the land, and we, who should then be the minority, would have to submit as good loyal, American citizens, and put our possessions, such as they are, into the common pool.

Does this alarm you? Do you ask: Is there then no protection against theories which in your opinion are detrimental to progress and civilization? There is this incomparable safeguard—that the American people must be persuaded! Violence will not be permitted, nor fiery appeals to the passions that lead to violence, but argument, yes. No matter what the "ism" espoused, it is not only to be tolerated but the expression of it freely permitted. But, again, you say, These errors are perilous. Weaker minds are apt to be captivated, seduced by them. I ask, Are the majority of the American people weak-minded, and are the arguments that can be adduced on the side of truth, or what we think so, less convinc-

ing, less telling, than those adduced on the side of error? Is Truth an invalid to be covered with wraps and shielded against every breeze, lest it sicken and die? Is Truth a babe in arms to be pampered by the nurses of conservatism, or is it a champion in arms that may be trusted to hold its own and more than hold its own?

These considerations are extremely pertinent to the issue now before the public as to the Americanism to be taught in the schools. The spirit of reverence and love for the American past is to be inculcated from the bottom to the top of the educational system. This is the prime requirement. In the highest schools, the colleges and universities, let every theory of political and social change have a free hearing, provided only that the appeal is to the reason, and not to the passions. In the lower schools, the schools for young children, the discussion of social and political questions on which adults disagree is out of place; and no teacher who is worth his salt will attempt to abuse his opportunity to influence the immature by propagandizing for his sect. Neither religious nor political nor social controversies are to be introduced into the children's school, simply because the pupils are not mature enough to weigh the arguments one way or the other.

It is the business of the school to form the judgments of the pupils, not to forestall them. But it is easy to stretch this point too far, and it is now in great danger of being stretched too far. One of the school authorities of the city has said that the teacher must teach the opinions of the majority. This dictum, if followed to its conclusions, is preposterous. If the majority at the next election turns out to be Republican, must the teachers of the schools include the platform of the Republican party in their instruction? If the majority should vote for protection, must the teacher teach protection, and vice versa?

But the person I have quoted goes even farther: he says that outside the school the teacher must hold the opinions which

he is forced to hold in the school. This is an unbelievable proposition. It not only leads to a mischievous spy system; it not only invades the rights of the teacher as a private citizen, but it spoils him as a teacher. The teacher who is required to think as the majority thinks, that is, as the school authorities, who undertake to interpret the ideas of the majority, require him to think, ceases to be a thinker at all, becomes a mere mouthpiece of other people's opinions. You might as well put Poll Parrot in his place to teach the young. He has two chief duties. The one is to stimulate his pupils to think. How can he do that if he has ceased to think himself? Again, and this is his paramount duty, to influence for good the character of his pupils. But a teacher who is servile to the commands of his superior loses his self-respect; and how can one who has forfeited his self-respect exercise the kind of influence that should go out from a moral personality upon the young? I trust that this present movement to suppress thinking among the teachers of the schools will prove to be a passing aberration, and that in this as in other ways we shall regain our confidence in the sufficiency of truth to hold its own.

I have thus rapidly covered the ground of my address. I have defined the specific function of the teachers as a vocational group, namely, to be the agency for transferring the center of gravity in American life from individualistic selfishness to self-expression in service. I have indicated the relation of this group to the other social groups, and to the nation as a whole. And now I should like, in a word, to ascend even a step higher, and to think of the teachers as destined to embrace in their purview the international society which is now in the first stages of formation, to think of themselves as privileged to introduce into the hearts of the rising generation the feeling and the desire for fruitful connection among all the peoples of the earth. They can do that by bringing before the students as they grow up in the American schools, especially the high

schools and colleges, the spiritual physiognomy of other nations, and by enlarging on the respective contributions these nations have made to the civilizations of the world. The highest possible result of the efforts of the vocational group of teachers, however, would be to fit and send out from its ranks missionaries of civilization to the backward races, personalities who, animated by the ideals of David Livingstone, but with even a broader horizon, would undertake the supreme pedagogy, the pedagogy of the uncivilized peoples, of the helpless child peoples of the earth.

And because the vocational group of teachers has such aims as these marked out for it, and because the labor unions, as at present constituted, fighting for dear life, are hardly prepared as yet to respond to such purposes, therefore I should advise teachers who seek my counsel against a preferential affiliation with the unions of manual workers, also because these unions represent only a part of the people, and the teachers are the servants and should be the guides of all the people.

It is sometimes asked whether religion should be taught in the schools, and whether it is not a misfortune that it cannot be. Formal or doctrinal religion surely cannot be taught, since we disagree as to its subject-matter. But there is a certain moral idealism which can well take the place of religion in the schools, and with which the best teachers may impregnate themselves. This is the idealism which looks forward to the task of transforming and perfecting the inner nature of men and women, which regards each individual as one who by devoted cultivation may be made to contribute toward the formation of a loftier type of mankind, may help to make actual mankind resemble in some degree that consummate and ultimate society in which the clash, the friction of ends and interests shall be overcome, and in the mutual furtherance of each other's aims men will discover the true justice, and with it and in it the enduring peace.

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THE PERSONAL FACTOR IN SOCIAL PROGRESS*

BY ALFRED W. MARTIN

Synagogues and churches, like Ethical Societies, exist for the cultivation of personal ethics no less than of social ethics. Of such cultivation there is always special need at a time when social questions are much to the fore. At such a time there is always danger that the narrower range of personal ethics, which is no less sacred than that of social reform, will be overlooked. We see the danger besetting many a social reformer, impatient with those slow but sure processes of moral education which reach down to the root-need for social betterment.

A great part of the difficulty besetting the social movement today is due to rash experimentation, to the attempt at finding a panacea, a wholesale remedy for a situation which, in the nature of things, takes time. It is said of a certain medical practitioner that when he did not quite know what to do with a patient he generally operated for appendicitis. Social surgery seems, in the same way, to many minds more attractive than the laborious study of social bacteriology and social psychology. Huxley, hurrying to a Dublin convention, jumped into a jaunting-car, saying to the driver, "Drive as fast as you can." Away went the car over the stones till Huxley cried, "Where are you going?" "I don't know," was the reply, "but I'm driving as fast as I can." That typifies much of the social work of our

time. It does not know whither it is going, but it is driving fast.

As against this deplorable phenomenon, let me recall what I read on a railroad signboard close to the tracks of a western line: "Go slow round this curve." Here is a warning that has direct application to our subject. For there is a widespread liking among us for precipitancy, quick results, short-cuts. We see it in the Alaskan gold prospector, "grub-staked" with the fervent expectation of "getting rich quick" himself and making his employer "rich quick." We see it in those Christian Scientists who said they joined the movement in the hope that they would "get health quick." We see it, again, in those social workers who became Socialists, believing it would "bring social health quick." But this is an illusion, albeit a noble illusion, originating in sympathy and pity. Seeing the deprivations and sufferings of the poor and oppressed one is irresistibly moved to sympathy and pity and the more these sentiments are stirred the less disposed one is to put up with any remedy that works slowly. What one sees is so intolerable that the cry goes up for instant relief, a swift cure is insisted upon and slow methods are spurned. And this, forsooth, is the origin of all social utopias,—the notion that what ought to be can be realized quickly and with the least possible effort.

But the real remedies never work that way. On the contrary, the more deep-seated the evils to be removed, the

* Part of an address delivered before the Ethical Societies of New York and Philadelphia.

slower the effective reform process must be. There are dangerous curves on the track of social progress and it behooves the social engineer to run his reform locomotive with caution and prudence. Nothing is so easy in the field of social reform as to be fooled by idealism, to be caught by an engaging reform scheme, blind to its limitations because of the passion for short-cuts and quick results. 'Tis easier to be inspired by the wish for a short-cut to social justice than to be inspired by sober consideration of the obstacles in the path of its realization. But the only genuine idealism is that which bravely and fully faces all the facts, refusing to be carried away by illusory plans that fail to take cognizance of the real difficulties that stand in the way of realizing the social ideal.

Recall any one of the historic schemes for establishing an ideal order of society, ranging from Plato's to the latest, known as "Guild Socialism." On paper, how attractive and promising it looks, but when taken down to the people in the street, to the real men and women who are to live under the ideal scheme, they will not behave in the manner which the scheme requires for its successful operation. During my fifteen years' residence on the Pacific Coast I watched, at close range, the rise, growth and disintegration of five ideal schemes, all alike failures for the same fundamental reason that most of the people for whom they were designed fell short of the measure of personal moral development necessary to insure the success of any social plan. James Russell Lowell used to tell an amusing and instructive story of his barber, illustrating the radical difficulty besetting all reconstruction schemes. The barber had a scientific turn of mind. He had read in Buckle's *Civilization* that what a person is depends in large measure on what he eats. From Huxley he had learned of the transmutation of species. On the basis of these observations he conceived the idea of making a fortune by feeding common ducks on celery, and

so converting them into expensive canvasbacks. At the end of a month Mr. Lowell asked him how his scheme was progressing. With a dejected expression the barber replied, "I have spent all my hard-earned savings on common ducks and celery, and now I don't know whether it would have turned them into canvasbacks or not, because the darned critters wouldn't eat it."

So is it with one or another of the social schemes propounded for our adoption. It looks promising to a degree, but the trouble is "the critters" won't behave in the fashion that the scheme requires for its successful operation. Let the nationalist, or the socialist, or the philosophical anarchist reorganize society on any plan that he chooses. When it is ready for adoption, the people who were selfish, lazy, tricky, dishonest, will be so still, because there is nothing in the nature of the adopted rearrangement that reaches down to the imperfect moral nature of men.

The *ultimate* root of the evils of competition is not the social conditions; it lies deeper, namely, in those elemental instincts of our nature that are brutish. It is the survival in men of brute inheritance—of traits we see in the tiger, the fox, the vulture, the hog, the peacock. Competition, we are told, is deadly because profits are unjustly distributed. But that is only a superficial explanation; the root reason is that unjust ambitions are everywhere at work.

But let it not be inferred from what has been thus far said that social reform must wait till individual men and women have been transfigured into saints; that social betterment is *conditioned* by changing human nature. Everybody knows the part that environment plays in the life of spiritual no less than of vegetable organisms and that the moral educator dare not ignore it. Everybody knows that just now we are trying out a number of reform measures the success of which does not hinge upon a prior "regeneration of the individual." We do not say of them that they are "vain and futile

unless human nature be first transformed"—for instance, improved legislation and short-term joint agreements in the dealings of capital and labor, government regulation and control in the field of industry and commerce, and taxation of colossal fortunes that are largely the product of privilege. When, therefore, it is asked, "Must human nature be changed in order to remedy social ills?" we answer emphatically in the negative. But when it is proposed to substitute for the existing social order a brand new system such as Socialism, or Communism, on the assumption that it is a "blanket remedy" for all the evils of society—and the literature of each of these systems proclaims its efficacy to do all that is required—then, we hold, human nature with its uncurbed, unrefined instincts and ambitions must be reckoned with and personal reform set down as a prerequisite for the successful adoption of any of the proposed schemes or systems for social redemption.

There is a noble sentence in the Fourth Gospel of the New Testament that points the place where emphasis must be put in these days of increasing confidence in one or another social "ism" to usher in an ideal order of society. As Jesus sat at supper with his disciples for the last time he offered up a prayer and at the heart of that prayer were these wonderful words: "For their sake I sanctify myself." What he meant was that the very best thing a person can do for society is to fit himself or herself for nobly influencing others because our life is our influence. In the exquisite phrasing of Professor Adler "we live in our radiations." And the helpfulness of our influence will be the measure of our living.

To sanctify oneself is to pay strict attention to the kind of influence one exerts. The merchant sanctifies himself when, for the sake of his employees, he takes careful note of the treatment he accords them, so that his actions may serve as an instrument for developing what is best in them. He sanctifies himself when he takes the attitude toward them of a

friend and co-worker, not that of an extortioner, seeking not to get out of them all he can, but rather aiming to encourage them to make the most of themselves and of their position. The large scale industrial employer sanctifies himself when, for the sake of his factory workers, he regards their lot from the moral and not merely from the sentimental standpoint, i. e. when he is distressed not only by the hard conditions and deprivations under which they live but also and more deeply by the degradation to which they, as moral beings with latent possibilities, are subjected. The laborer sanctifies himself when for the sake of the good that accrues to his class from truthfulness, he repudiates the pernicious falsehood, published in many a labor manifesto, that "labor produces all wealth," implying that the employer or capitalist perform no necessary economic function, merely handling the product without contributing to its value. The laborer sanctifies himself when he rids his own mind and the minds of his fellow-unionists of the false notions regarding their employer, recognizing the part that organizing ability, managerial skill and executive genius play as indispensable factors in production and acknowledging in all humility that, without these, industrial anarchy and chaos would ensue. Parents sanctify themselves when, for the sake of their children, they pay close and constant attention to their manners, their demeanor, their mode of speech, so that by means of these they may succeed in drawing out what is best in their children. To sanctify oneself is to face this difficult task and fit oneself for its fulfillment.

When John Stuart Mill said, "Liberty" means "letting every man do as he likes, so long as he does not injure his neighbor," he gave expression to one of those commonplaces of modern thought against which we need to be constantly on our guard. There are no such self-regarding acts as Mill had in mind. No man can draw a circle around himself, and say, "Within this sphere I am free to do what I like." Every moment of our lives we

are influencing others—even in our solitary thinking we are shaping actions that we presently will be performing. Every man's private vices are public nuisances, not only because of the bad example he sets, but because the victim of those vices becomes a worthless member of society, a clog in the wheels of social progress.

The story is told of a laborer who was at work on a building, the pinnacles of which were to reach far up into the sky. He speculates on the probable altitude of that building—he dreams of the magnificent decorations it will have—he compares it with other great buildings of which he has heard or read, and all the while he is cramming a defective stone into the building where he is at work. So there are men and women at work on the Temple of Humanity, "from whose border wrong is banished, and where justice reigns supreme o'er all"; they are speculating on the time when the great work will be completed, dreaming of the grandeur of its proportions, comparing it with other ideal commonwealths of which they have heard and read, and all the while they are cramming the stone of a selfish life into the Temple where they are at work.

Now by all means let us keep on dreaming; we need these dreams of the ideal for inspiration. Only as one's soul lives in Utopia is life worth the keeping. But while our eyes are fixed on the ideal, on the mental picture of what it is supremely desirable to have, let us see to it that we put a truly sanctified life into the social structure just where we are at work. Let no one set up the plea of personal insignificance as an excuse for failure in the task of supervising and controlling the influence he exerts. Strictly speaking there is no such thing as an insignificant human life and whosoever entertains that notion with regard to himself should conquer it in all humility. For each human being has value on his own account, has some form of excellence peculiar to himself and indispensable to the perfecting of the ultimate spiritual ideal of humanity—a doctrine developed

in detail by the founder of the Ethical Movement in *An Ethical Philosophy of Life*.

It is no longer possible to cherish the age-long anticipation of a perfected society here on earth. Many years ago, Professor Adler gave expression to the beatific vision in inspired verse under the title, *The City of the Light*. After describing the transfigured social order the poet continued:

We are builders of that City,
All our joys and all our groans
Help to rear its shining ramparts,
All our lives are building-stones.

And the work that we have builded,
Oft with bleeding hands and tears,
And in error and in anguish,
Will not perish with our years.

It will be at last made perfect
In the universal plan;
It will help to crown the labors
Of the toiling hosts of man.

Yea, for it we still must labor,
For its sake bear pain and grief,
In it find the joy of living,
And the anchor of belief.

But the human race will be extinct and the earth a cold dead world, like the moon, before ever the paradise here pictured is attained. The inspiring poem must needs be reinterpreted (if not rewritten) in terms of "the ethical manifold" or spiritual universe, that "infinite system of interdependence" in which each human being as an ethical unit has a place; each "an infinitesimal component, of the infinite God."

Away then with the notion of human insignificance, for each one of us, however inconspicuous or seemingly unimportant, plays an indispensable rôle in the spiritual City of the Light; each is a trusted agent of the divine commonwealth. Each one of us is like the light-house keeper, who sits in solitude on his lonely rock watching his little flame. Why does he not let it go out as other lights in the distance go out when the night is far spent? The answer is, because it is not his light; he is its keeper,

not its owner. The superintendent of that dangerous coast has placed him there, and he must be true to his trust. So is it with your calling in life and mine—it gets dignity, majesty, infinite significance,

when we look upon it as a post of honor and of trust, when we see it in relation to the universal plan of the spiritual universe and the ultimate ideal to which humanity tends.

THE ARMENIANS*

BY M. VARTAN MALCOM

I

DURING the last century the Armenians have been the subject of much discussion in the United States. Massacres, immigration, missionary enterprises, and the recent war have kept their name in the forefront. But how little the busy public knows about these people, their country, their race, their language, their religion, their standard of civilization, their aspirations for political independence, their part in the great war and their colony in America. It is the object of this paper to give, as far as possible within a limited space, a brief survey of these matters.

Armenia lies on the southern coast of the Black Sea and stretches out like a fan towards the Caspian Sea on the east, towards Persia, Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean on the south, and towards Anatolia on the west. Its area—in round numbers, about 151,000 square miles—is divided into eleven provinces which, before the war, were held by Persia, Russia and Turkey. The province of Azerbaijan was attached to Persia, and three other provinces belonged to Russia; but since the revolution of 1917, the Armenians in these three provinces have established a republic, which, as I write these lines, has been recognized by the Allies. The prov-

inces of Van, Bitlis, Erzerum, Diarbekir, Sivas and Cilicia, formerly under Turkey, are waiting for the decision of the Peace Conference. The Armenian national delegation in Paris has demanded the creation of an Armenian state, including all the eleven provinces referred to; but whether they will succeed in securing what is theirs by right and heritage is uncertain. European politics is not yet conducted on the basis of impartial regard for justice.

About a year before the outbreak of the war, the Ambassadorial Conference at London estimated that there were about 4,500,000 Armenians in the world. Of these about 3,500,000 lived within the eleven provinces of Armenia and about a million in territories immediately adjacent, that is, in other parts of Turkey, Russia and Persia and about 300,000 in all other countries in Europe, America, India and Asia. About one million Armenians must be deducted from these figures for the losses sustained during the deportations of 1915 and 1916, leaving a balance of 3,500,000, of whom ninety per cent are now within the boundaries of their fatherland. When Greece was liberated from the domination of the Turks a little less than a hundred years ago, her population was only 300,000. But the point to note is that the Armenians are not, like the Jews, a scattered, disunited people. It is true there are Armenian colonies in all parts of the world just as there are American, French, English colonies everywhere; but no less than six-sevenths of the total Armenian population inhabit their native land. This is true

*From an address in the series on Immigrant Peoples in America, delivered under the auspices of the Women's Organizations of the New York Society for Ethical Culture. Mr. Malcom is a counsellor at law. A fuller treatment of his topic is contained in his book, *The Armenians in America* (Pilgrim Press).

of no other subject nations of the Ottoman Empire.

The fact that Armenia is located in Asia Minor has given rise to the erroneous notion that its people must be Asiatics. This is like saying that because it lives in America the white population of the United States is a branch of the North American Indian race. Distinguished scholars, historians, linguists and ethnologists have produced ample evidence that the Armenians are a European people. Just as the whites supplanted the Indians in the United States, so the Armenians, about two thousand years ago supplanted the older inhabitants of their land. Says Professor William Z. Ripley in *The Races of Europe*, "The similarity of this [Armenian] type to our Alpine races of Western Europe has been especially emphasized by the most competent authority." The peoples who occupy the countries on the north of the chain of mountains, stretching from the highlands of Scotland to the extreme southern limit of Armenia, are characterized by their blond hair and blue eyes, like the Germans and the Scandinavians. The peoples who occupy the Mediterranean basin south of this chain of mountains are marked by their black hair, black eyes and quickness of temper, like the Italians, French and Greeks. In between these two distinct types are the sturdy mountain peoples known as the Alpine races. The Armenians belong to this branch of mankind. It is an established fact that they resemble more closely the Swiss in Switzerland and the Scotch in the hills of Scotland, than do the English or the French.

The Armenian language is unlike Arabic, Turkish, Syrian, Persian or any of the tongues used by the immediate neighbors. Like the English, it is a branch of the so-called Indo-Germanic or Indo-European languages. Armenian literature is rich in religious, historical and philosophical writings.

Whatever works of art or architecture

a traveller finds throughout Asia Minor are in most cases the products of Armenians, who are considered by competent foreigners the most artistic people in the Ottoman Empire. For further study on these topics I refer the reader to *Armenia, Travels and Studies*, by Lynch; *Armenian Poems Rendered into English* by Alice Stone Blackwell; *Armenian Legends and Poems*, by Zahille Boyajian, with an introduction by Lord Bryce, and an essay by Aram Raffi. *The New Armenia*, a monthly magazine published in New York, contains translations of Armenian poems, stories and also articles on Armenian affairs.

The teachings of Jesus were first introduced to the Armenians by the Apostles Thaddeus and Bartholomew in 33 A. D. Finally in 301 A. D., when the King of Armenia was converted and baptized by St. Gregory, Christianity was made the religion of the state. Hence the official title of the Armenian Church is St. Gregory the Illuminator's Armenian Apostolic Church. This body is not affiliated with either the Roman Catholic church or the Greek. Its form of worship is similar to that of the latter, while its polity is very much like the Episcopalian. The head of the Church, called the Catholicos, is elected for life by the people. Eighty-five per cent of the Armenians belong to their mother church.

Through the efforts of the Jesuits, the Dominican Fathers and the Crusaders, there are now about 150,000 Roman Catholic Armenians. (Those who go to Venice should visit the picturesque Armenian Catholic Monastery on the island of St. Lazzare.) American missionaries have succeeded in converting about 150,000 Armenians to the Protestant faith. These unnecessary religious incursions have divided the Armenians and made harder the task of political unity and national self-defense.

Armenia, like Greece, Bulgaria, Roumania and Servia, was subjugated by the Turks, who were nothing but a consolidation of tribes coming westward

from Central Asia, and forming a unit under the banner of Mohammedanism. For many centuries the Armenians, on account of the position of their country and the difference of their religion and race, had to fight the invasion of these barbarous tribes. Ex-Ambassador Morgenthau has properly called them the Belgians of the East; for these people have guarded the frontiers of our civilization. But for them the Turks would have destroyed the Byzantine Empire and overrun Europe before the fourteenth century and at a time when none of the present European Powers were strong enough to resist such an invasion as they did at the gates of Vienna in 1683. Few people know this historical fact that the Armenians have been the saviors of modern civilization.

For the last five hundred years, like the Greeks, Bulgarians and other Christian subject races of the Turks, they have tried to regain their independence. In order to prevent the Armenians from succeeding as the Greeks, Bulgarians and Serbs have done, the Sultans determined to exterminate the entire race. This is the basic reason for the massacres and deportations.

What the Armenians did in the recent war is briefly set forth by Lord Cecil, the British Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in a letter dated September, 1918.

In the autumn of 1914, the national congress of the Ottoman Armenians, then sitting at Erzerum, was offered autonomy by the Turkish emissaries, if it would actively assist Turkey in the war; but it replied that while they would do their duty individually as Ottoman subjects, they could not, as a nation, work for the cause of Turkey and her allies. Following this courageous refusal the Ottoman Armenians were systematically murdered by the Turkish Government, in 1915 more than 700,000 people being exterminated by the most cold-blooded and fiendish methods. From the beginning of the war, that half of the Armenian nation under Russian sovereignty organized volunteer forces and, under their heroic leader, General Andranig, bore the brunt of some of the heaviest fighting in the Caucasian campaign. After the

Russian Army's breakdown at the end of last year, these Armenian forces took over the Caucasian front and for five months delayed the Turks' advance, thus rendering important services to the British Army in Mesopotamia, these operations in the Alexandropol and Erivan region being, of course, unconnected with those of Baku.

II

There were Armenians among the original settlers in America. The first one came to Virginia as early as 1618; and he was followed by two others in 1654. In 1656 the Assembly of Virginia passed the following interesting resolution:

That George the Armenian for his encouragement in the trade of silk and to stay in the country to follow the same, have four thousand pounds of tobacco allowed him by the Assembly. (Henning's Statutes, Vol. 1, page 425.)

In 1831 the American Board for Foreign Missions established a mission in Constantinople. From that time up to 1880 a number of former students of that mission school and the members of the mission church came to the United States to complete their education or to learn trades. About 1883, when a revolutionary movement was started in Turkey, many of the leaders took refuge in America; and in 1895 and 1896, when the great massacres took place, Armenians began to emigrate to this country in larger numbers, and there are now in the United States about eighty thousand. Most of them live in the New England States, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and California. In the Eastern States they work in the shoe factories, cotton mills and other industries; in the Middle West, they are employed in the machine and automobile shops, and in the furniture manufacturing establishments; in California the most are engaged in farming. There are many small trades people and a number of successful merchants among them.

An idea of the economic status of the Armenian immigrants upon entering this

country may be gained from these figures compiled by the Federal Government: 39.5 per cent were skilled laborers, 23.5 farmers, 17.8 laborers, 2.3 professional men, 17.1 in other occupations. The average annual income of an Armenian wage-earning family was \$730; for a Hebrew family it was \$685; North Italian, \$657; Greek, \$632; South Italian, \$569.

With respect to the professions—there are in this country over one hundred Armenian Protestant clergymen, and at least fifty of these preach in English to American congregations. The number of Armenian doctors and dentists in the United States exceeds two hundred and a large number of them have a good American practice. Armenian lawyers now in active practice number about fifteen. Two or three of them have succeeded in building up a lucrative practice among American or non-Armenian clients. There are a great many engineers, chemists and architects. There are about eight Armenian professors and instructors in American colleges and universities. The Professor of Oral Military Surgery at the Harvard Dental School, one of the Associate Professors of Organic Chemistry at Lehigh, an Assistant Professor of Physics at the University of Pennsylvania, the assistant Librarian and Lecturer on Oriental Languages at the Hartford Theological School, an instructor of chemistry at Yale, an instructor in the medical school of the University of Michigan, are Armenians. Two of the most noted photographers in the United States are Armenians. There are well-known Armenian painters and sculptors in New York, Chicago and San Francisco. There are Armenians on the stage and distinguished operatic singers, one of whom often appears at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York. (*The Armenians in America*, by the author.)

In all large communities they have an Armenian Gregorian Church and a Protestant Church, in both of which services are conducted in the Armenian language. Most of these church buildings, particularly those in California, have been built or purchased by the Armenians. While the older folks, especially those who do not know English, attend the Armenian churches, the new generation, and those who speak Eng-

lish, go to American churches of various denominations. There are now about nineteen newspapers and periodicals published in this country, all in the Armenian language except one, *The New Armenia*, which is in English. The Armenians have a great number of associations. Their chief aim is to help the fatherland in some way. There are also four political parties. The platforms of two of these parties tend to Socialism, while the other two follow a more moderate course. Each party maintains a club or branch in all cities where there is an Armenian colony.

The Armenians are noted for their intense passion for education. They maintain hundreds of primary schools, high schools and other institutions of learning throughout their own land and wherever there are Armenian colonies. The United States statistics show that among Armenian immigrants, at the time of landing, only 23.9 were illiterates, while among the Bulgarians the percentage was 41.7, Greeks 26.4, Hebrews 26.0, Roumanians 35.0, Polish 35.4, Italians 53.9 and Syrians 53.3. I might add here that in 1916 there were over 248 Armenian students in American colleges and universities. I believe that no other immigrant race takes greater advantage of the educational opportunities in this country.

The reports of the Immigration Commission contain statistics showing that the Armenian immigrants occupy houses or apartments with more rooms, pay more rent and have less congestion than other immigrant races from Southeastern Europe or Asia. The Armenians have also manifested greater desire to become American citizens and have adopted themselves more readily to American ways of life. The late Andrew D. White, of Cornell University, and at one time United States Ambassador to Germany, said: "If I were asked to name the most desirable race to be added by immigration to the American population, I would name among the very first the Armenians."

"JUSTICE AND THE POOR"*

BY ABRAHAM LINCOLN GUTMAN

THIS bulletin, published in the fall of 1919 after five years of investigation, has deservedly provoked wide discussion. The study was suggested in the first instance, according to President Pritchett of the Carnegie Foundation, by the appeal of certain legal aid societies to the Foundation for grants of funds. In the discussion of the pamphlet by John A. Hamilton of Buffalo before the New York State Bar Association in January of this year, it was clearly shown that legal aid societies are supported largely and almost exclusively by private contributions. Hence the question, "Why the necessity for Legal Aid Societies?" They are really not a proper part of our constituted machinery for the administration of the law.

The ideals of Mr. Smith may be summarized in the following extract: "There can be no political, social or economic equality, no democracy, unless the *substantive* law by fair and equitable rules gives reality to equality by making it a living thing." And, "the substantive law, however fair and equitable itself, is impotent to provide the necessary safeguards unless the *administration* of justice, which alone gives effect and force to the substantive law, is in the highest sense impartial."

In so far as the substantive law is concerned, says the author, the poor are at no special disadvantage as compared with the rich. But the *machinery* through which rights are enforced or defended, i. e., what is technically known as procedural or adjective, as distinguished from substantive law, has grave defects.

In support of this contention, the author divides the treatise into three principal parts. In the first, he discusses the outstanding defects of the administration or machinery of the law under the title, "The Existing Denial of Justice to the Poor,"—and, he endeavors by illustrations to show that these defects are due in the main to (1) delay, (2) court costs and fees, and (3) expense of counsel (inability to obtain the best brains). Desiring to be fair in his presentation of his problem, the author, in part two, elaborates upon the agencies which tend to secure a more equal administration of the law. These are grouped under the headings: Small Claims Courts, Conciliation, Arbitration, Domestic Relations Courts, Administrative Tribunals, Administrative Officials, Assigned Counsel, The Defender in Criminal Cases, and Legal Aid Organizations. Nor is he content with the mere mention of these agencies. Details of their origin, their history and their practical workings cover many interesting chapters.

Thus the Kansas, Portland, Cleveland and Chicago *Small Claims Courts* are brought forcibly to the reader's attention. *Conciliation* in Europe as well as in America receives notice. *Judicial Arbitration* and its probable future are presented. The existing situation, significance and development of the *Domestic Relations Court* are made clear to the layman and the lawyer. The Workmen's Compensation Acts and the Interstate Commerce Commission divide consideration in his topic of *Administrative Tribunals*. *Assigned Counsel* in civil cases, and in criminal, and the plan of *Defenders* in criminal cases, too little known in fact, form the basis of other illuminating chapters. And in the closing part of the pamphlet, prominent

* A bulletin by Mr. Reginald Heber Smith, with a foreword by Mr. Elihu Root. Issued by The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

place is given to the extra-legal institution of *legal aid societies*.

The publication of the pamphlet and its wide notice by the press and the bar led to an immediate challenge of its conclusions. With much vigor, the Justices of the Municipal Court and of the Magistrate's Court of New York City criticized the deductions of the report and took issue with its statements of fact, so far as concerned the administration of the law in that city. For an impartial understanding of the pros and cons, it is but fair to read the addresses of Judge McAdoo, of the Magistrates' Court, and Judge Levy, of the Municipal Court, presented at the January meeting of the New York State Bar Association. When we remember that the Magistrates' Courts are the criminal courts with which the poor have first contact, and that the Municipal Courts are similarly the courts where cases involving small amounts are tried, we can readily appreciate that the statements of the chief justices of these courts are entitled to our respectful attention. The judges are emphatic in their pronouncements that there are not sufficient facts stated by Mr. Smith to warrant his deductions.

Then, too, we must give great weight to the publicly expressed opinions of Judge Hughes and Mr. Henry W. Taft, presidents respectively of two of the most important bar organizations in the country. They likewise disagree with the conclusions of Mr. Smith. Mr. Taft regrets its publication as having evoked public criticism of the administration of justice and as unfortunate in this period of unrest. Yet, in the course of his article in the *Times*, Mr. Taft does not gainsay the fact that "with the crowding of the population, particularly through the immense immigration of recent years, the minor courts in some localities failed at times to find satisfactory results." He explains that this is accounted for in large part by what he describes as the tremendous changes which have taken place in every

phase of the nation's life. But is it not true that times like these demand public discussion in order to prevent violent acts in opposition?

Nor should we ignore the testimony of Senator Root, a recognized leader of the conservative political thinkers. In the foreword to the bulletin, he writes: "We have had in the main just laws and honest courts to which people—poor as well as rich—could repair to obtain justice. But, the rapid growth of great cities, the enormous masses of immigrants (many of them ignorant of our language), and the greatly increased complications of life have created conditions under which the provisions for obtaining justice which were formerly sufficient are no longer. I think the true criticism which we should make upon our own conduct is that we have been so busy about our individual affairs that we have been slow to appreciate the changes of conditions which to so great an extent have put justice beyond the reach of the poor."

Then, too, the paper of Mr. John A. Hamilton, also read at the recent meeting of the State Bar Association, is well worthy of a careful study. He was for years connected with the work of the Legal Aid Societies in Buffalo and has first-hand knowledge of conditions in the minor courts. His reply is not couched in the challenging tone of the judges. His attitude is that of a student; and his paper is not an arraignment of Mr. Smith. He asserts that the facts and instances adduced are too meagre to justify the sweeping conclusions, and that the pamphlet should be treated more as an expression of disappointment that the ideal has not been attained completely. He suggests as a remedy combining the minor with the superior courts. His admission, however, most freely made, that there is always a gap between the actual and the ideal, tells much. It leads us to the conviction that in so far as Mr. Smith's study and conclusions are to be interpreted as showing that there is still

much to be desired, he deserves the thanks of bar and public for his timely paper.

Are the critics of Mr. Smith's treatise not too narrow? Has he not shown a broader outlook than they? The answer seems to be found in the recent address of Dr. Felix Adler. In his lecture on "The Spirit of Radicalism," published in the February number of THE STANDARD, Dr. Adler explains that in the discussion of the question, law should not be considered merely in its juristic sense, but in the wider sense of "legislation by which the order of society is controlled." Dr. Adler then argues that given this meaning of the law, Mr. Smith's criticism is not unfair. He asks even for a more searching consideration of the statement of Mr. Smith that "there is no injustice in the heart of the law," i. e., the substantive law. Dr. Adler contends that as in the past "there has never been a system of law and order which did not bear the finger prints of privilege," so, today, taking law as legislation, our system generous and equitable in intent, was conceived to fit conditions in America which exist no longer. "Our system of law," he says, "applied to a people of farmers, merchants, small manufacturers, with abundance of unoccupied land accessible, and room for play of the initiative of the individual without too serious embarrassment of his neighbors. At present this is no longer true. The social system of America and the law in which it is expressed, while still approximately suited to the needs of the middle class, as the middle class under-

stands its needs, fails to reach those above and also those beneath the middle class, fails to prevent the rise and multiplication of colossal fortunes which are a calamity in any social system, and fails to offer relief to the relatively propertyless multitudes who work in industry."

If this is the opinion of this great teacher of ethics, does it not behoove us lawyers to consider more carefully and more charitably the very important questions presented by Mr. Smith's bulletin? Should we not study our law-system in the light of its broader definition and be willing to join with Mr. Smith and others like him who strive for reform and improvement? Let us, then, freely admit "that the old order can be made to pass into the new, by gradual stages" of course; and let all help "to restate the good that exists in the old system so as to be no longer the mere good that it was, but the thing *better* than it was."

It has, indeed, been well said that if our machinery for justice were today made perfect, it would, before many years had passed, again be full of anachronisms. That is inevitable because the law regulates life; but life is always in flux, while law tends to be static. Instead of a challenging attitude toward such a criticism as Mr. Smith's therefore the proper one seems to be that lawyers should endeavor to continue to lead public opinion, as they did in De Tocqueville's time, in an effort ever and ever more to improve both the substantive quality of justice and its administration.

MEDICINE AS A PROFESSION*

BY ERNST P. BOAS

WE ALL have a mental picture of the ideal doctor, the old family practitioner as he is called nowadays, the friend and confidant of the family, who is always called in times of illness and distress. In spite of the times and the vogue of specialism, he is still among us, and will always be needed. His life and work constitute the greatest appeal to the young man or woman who is considering the study of medicine. He brings relief to the ailing; young and old, rich and poor, all look forward to his visit when they are ill. He not only heals the sick, but through that rare grace of instilling confidence, a trait which he has gained in years devoted to the study of disease and of his fellow men, he relieves in part the worries of the patient and of his anxious relatives.

Let us follow the progress of a young man or woman who has begun the study of medicine, and observe how the great opportunities which the profession presents are revealed to him. He enters the medical school full of noble thoughts and aspirations, and at once is plunged into a sea of work. Every moment of his time is filled with the acquisition of facts. He learns the mysteries of the structure and functions of the human body, he studies the fundamental sciences, and begins to appreciate how a knowledge of them leads

to the understanding of disease. With all his high enthusiasm he strives to master anatomy, physiology, chemistry and kindred subjects. His imagination leads him in the footsteps of the great masters of medical science, of Pasteur, of Harvey, of Koch and Ehrlich. For the time the personal contact with patients is in the background; the unexplored fields of medicine call to him. If only he could solve one of the many great problems that still baffle us: if he could but find the cause and cure of cancer, if he could discover the germ that causes measles, how much more would he benefit humanity in one great stroke than by a lifetime of ministrations to the individual sick.

To some this is the call, and they become the laboratory workers on whom we rely to blaze the way for further progress in medicine. But I would say to such a student, "Be sure that you have that call, for your life will be a hard one." The investigator's career is not so calm and peaceful as it seems. Many years of careful work, subjected to the most rigid standards of accuracy, are necessary before aught is accomplished. Edward Jenner devoted twenty-five years to the study of small-pox and vaccination before he published his results in 1796, and even then he encountered bitter opposition. The research worker is not well paid, and must expect to earn but a modest competence all his life.

But let us continue. Suppose that our student has advanced to his fourth year in the medical school. He is learning to apply to the diagnosis and treatment of disease the knowledge that he has gained in his earlier studies; he comes in contact with the individual patient. This contact becomes still closer as he enters on his internship

* It has been the aim of the Ethical Culture High School from time to time to present to the students a forecast of the different vocations, with a view to enabling them to form an early estimate of their fitness for one or the other. Many young people, even in the later years of their college life, are undecided as to their future because unacquainted with the conditions that make for usefulness in the various walks of life. The above is one of a course of addresses delivered by a doctor of medicine, a former pupil in the Ethical Culture School.—THE EDITORS.

in the hospital. He is faced by the specific problem—what is the matter with this patient, and how shall I treat him? He, watches his teachers, how they examine a case, how they weigh the evidence and finally arrive at a conclusion. Their skill and keenness in diagnosis seems to him often a little short of magic. But he studies their methods, and learns that their diagnostic acumen rests on solid foundations. They have mastered the fundamental sciences; they have trained their powers of observation; they have sharpened their senses of sight, hearing, touch, and even smell; they have stored away in their memories, ready for instant use, case upon case that has been seen before; they have trained their minds so that they can integrate all these separate factors, associate that which they observe with that which they have seen before, understand the symptoms in the light of science, and so synthesize all of these elements into a clear picture of what is going on in the diseased body. So our student learns to admire the clinician, and aspires to follow in his footsteps. A long and arduous training is in store for him. He must master the fundamental sciences, must spend years in hospitals, dispensaries, and laboratories, equipping himself for his career.

The same holds true if the fascination for surgery seizes him. Most of the preparatory work is unpaid or at best poorly paid, and for years his income is small, but he is accumulating an intellectual capital which will yield interest in later life. As Sir William Osler says in one of his addresses, "Sir Andrew Clark told me that he had striven ten years for bread, ten years for bread and butter, and twenty years for cakes and ale."

While the young doctor is in the hospital he learns more, however, than the art of diagnosis and treatment. He is constantly in contact with individual patients and their families. The human appeal is always in the foreground. He

speaks words of comfort to worrying relatives, and calms the acuteness of their grief when the beloved one dies. His advice is often sought. Soon he comes to realize the close connection between disease and social and economic forces.

A patient is ready to be discharged from the hospital. She has heart disease, and although she is in much better condition than when first admitted, she will never again be able to do hard work without injuring her health and hastening her death. So the doctor advises her accordingly. He then discovers that she has three small children at home, that the husband is at work all day and that she must look after the household, do the marketing, cooking, laundry, and scrubbing for the family. She lives on the fourth floor of a tenement. Climbing these stairs several times a day, as she must, is alone too great a tax on her strength. When the physician tells her that she must spare herself, and sketches for her a proper mode of living, she smiles and shrugs her shoulders, and returns to the life that will kill her in a short time.

This is not an exaggerated picture, for hundreds of such cases occur every day. The doctor realizes his impotence to deal with such a situation, and calls on the social service department of the hospital to follow up the case in the home, and to give such help as it can. Social welfare activities should form an integral part of every hospital and dispensary, for without them the doctor is powerless. He must continually work for greater co-operation between both professions, and for further extension and co-ordination of their activities.

Let us imagine that while the young doctor, whose career we are following, is in the hospital, an epidemic breaks out. He sees scores of his fellow men stricken with a disease which might have been prevented. He ponders over the subject and the idea comes to him—how much more useful would my life be if, instead of alleviating individual

suffering, I devoted myself to the prevention of diseases that cause this suffering. And as he considers the matter, he sees that this point of view does not apply solely to great scourges such as influenza or poliomyelitis, but to all of the contagious diseases such as measles, diphtheria, and typhoid fever, which we are prone to accept as inevitable, but which, if only we knew more than we do and applied the knowledge we already have, could be largely exterminated. He learns of sicknesses that are incident to certain occupations, such as the lead-poisoning of painters and the hookworm disease of the Southern farmers. As he reads of the remarkable work of General Gorgas in ridding the Canal Zone of malaria and yellow fever, and of other public health activities, a vast new branch of medicine—preventive medicine, with the career of a public health official—opens before him.

I have sketched briefly the possibilities of a career in medicine as they

are unfolded to the student during his novitiate. The field is unlimited and offers play to many types of mind. The general practitioner who cares for the individual sick, the more intensively trained diagnostician, surgeon, or other specialist, the laboratory worker, the public health officer—all occupy fields presenting infinite opportunities for service. It is this idea of service to humanity in distress that unites all of these careers under one standard of medicine. They involve different methods of attack on the same problem—the prevention and cure of the ills to which the human race is heir—and they are mutually dependent one upon the other. So I should say to the young man or woman who is considering the choice of medicine as a profession, keep the service ideal ever in mind. For it is this ideal, followed by physicians for many generations, which has ennobled the profession and made every one of its members proud to be a doctor.

A CO-OPERATIVE HOUSING PLAN

BY R. G. STONE

SOME years ago an officer of the Ethical Culture School became deeply concerned about the grievous difficulties which were experienced by two groups of people in finding homes in New York City. The first of these groups was composed of families with small means, and especially of those with little children; and the second, of refined colored families who frequently also belonged to the first group, and so suffered a double handicap. The neighborhood of the school was canvassed to see whether a co-operative scheme could be developed by taking over the entire lease of a "flat-house," converting the unused space in the basement into community storerooms, where goods bought at wholesale could be retailed to

the co-operator, and constructing on the roof a community playground, of which the mothers could in turn take charge.

For many reasons this plan was never carried out, but when the present housing emergency arose, involving serious difficulties for large numbers of people, including among others the teachers in the School, a new plan was developed out of the old one and this has now progressed to such an extent as to permit of explanation in some detail.

The project is being promoted under the auspices of what is known as the Teacop (Teachers Co-operative) Realty Corporation. A property has been purchased, which is worth about \$250,000, and consists of three five-story build-

ings covering a plot of land, 95 by 100 feet, in a most desirable neighborhood not far from the School. Forty apartments with two, three and four rooms, some with kitchens and some with kitchenettes, and fifteen non-housekeeping apartments, with one or two rooms, will be available to all employes of the School and Society at a rate at least one-third below the usual market price for such apartments. Those not rented to the teachers and other employes will be leased to the outside public—preferably to people of allied professions—at the prevailing rate for apartments of the same type in that neighborhood.

While there will be no elevator, other conveniences which are not found elsewhere will be installed. The roof will be fitted to serve as an outdoor room for the use of all the tenants. A model laundry will be established in the basement, with a laundress in charge five days a week, at a fixed salary. Here, under sanitary conditions and free from the use of chemicals, the flat work of the house will be done at a minimum cost, and the laundress will also be available for individual work. The laundry will be left free one day each week for the use of such of the co-operators as may prefer to do some of their own work.

A restaurant will be opened, with a small reception room adjoining. As space cannot be spared for a social room, the furniture of the dining-room will be of such a character as to permit of ready removal when it is desired to clear the room for some festivity. The restaurant will be conducted with the idea of providing a simple meal at minimum cost, but the kind of meal that could easily serve as the foundation of a more elaborate one for those with longer purses or a desire for a more varied menu. It is hoped that the arrangements may be so elastic that meals can be sent to the apartments as easily as to the dining-room. Many teachers who live alone crave companionship at meal-time, and for them the dining-

room will meet a real need; whereas others require the quiet and relaxation possible only within their own four walls. It is also hoped that there may be a "guest flat" to take care of visiting friends from out-of-town, who will thus be able to secure a room at a rate much less than that prevailing outside, and at the same time to enjoy the comforts of the community house.

The difficulties involved in so managing a co-operative house as to safeguard the privacy of the individual are many. A house committee or council of management will give careful consideration to questions involving the relations between the tenants and this committee is quite conscious that real co-operation is difficult to obtain, indeed that it is unattainable unless the individual is willing to make personal sacrifices for the good of the community as a whole, and yet that no co-operative enterprise can succeed where the advantages to the individual are not commensurate with his sacrifices. The undertaking will be an interesting experiment in developing the selfish-unselfish point of view, in deepening the individual values by promoting an active interest in the common good.

In the evolution of the plan, such efforts as have been made to defeat the high cost of living, or to give bargains to a selected group of workers, have been designed to illustrate the point that the group can itself actually lower the cost of living by applying the principles of co-operation. The capitalists back of the scheme are men and women who are deeply interested in the Ethical Culture School and in anything that will further its educational possibilities. They believe that the co-operative housing plan involves unusual opportunities for education along the line of group action, and this has been the principal stimulus to the undertaking. The investors realize, however, that unless the project is financially sound, unless it "pays," it will fail so far as effective demonstration of a principle goes. And so, i-

spite of the attractive rental rates offered to the co-operators, those who are financing the project expect to pay interest at the rate of five per cent, and further to amortize the entire investment within ten or fifteen years. The property will then be held in the interest of some one of the School philanthropies, and whatever gain is realized will redound to the benefit of the School.

Such a plan as this should be of special interest at the present time, because the ideas upon which it is based are so unlike the kind of reasoning one hears on every hand. The spirit of the age seems to be, "Every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost," whether it be capital or labor that is expressing it-

self. The workman evinces little pride or pleasure in his work; his major interest seems rather to be in wages and hours. His leisure too often means merely "not working," and his attitude towards his employer and the public is often one of getting as much as he can for a minimum of service. And so it is timely for the Ethical Society, which stands pledged to the ideal of right relationships, to launch an enterprise that can succeed only if all pull together for a common end. And it is not only good team work that is required, but also the professional spirit, the spirit which takes real pride in a real piece of work, apart from purely personal or selfish considerations.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE LIFE OF FRANCIS PLACE. By Graham Wallas. Alfred A. Knopf.

Francis Place is a name unknown to most persons. Notwithstanding his lack of fame, Place was, in his time, one of the most influential persons in England, and Graham Wallas has rendered a distinct service in writing, or perhaps it is more accurate to say, in compiling from Place's letters and other writings, the story of his life and work.

In literary quality, the book is worthy of the highest praise. In form and style it approaches that masterpiece of biography, George Macaulay Trevelyan's *The Life of John Bright*. Both books are composed, in the main, of the writings of the men themselves, skillfully and artistically arranged by the authors, so that they read smoothly and evenly like narratives rather than like scrapbooks or compilations.

Both Place and Bright are conspicuous examples of men of humble origin who became useful public servants, although Place, unlike Bright, never held public office. Place was born in 1771 and died in 1854. He had no advantages of family, position or education, yet the story of his career is a record of achievement for mankind. It forms a striking contrast to the life portrayed in *The Education of Henry Adams*. Adams had every possible advantage and records his frustration by reason of those very advantages. During his lifetime, Place was a powerful force in prac-

tically every movement for the public welfare. He was born in the humblest circumstances and suffered all "the extremes of poverty." Notwithstanding these obstacles, he achieved a real education without the aid, or, as Henry Adams would say, the hindrance of conventional education. He did not waste his time and energy considering, to quote Adams, "what part of education has, in his experience, turned out to be useful, and what not." With the tools at hand he developed himself into an educated man and a useful citizen. He associated with the intellectual leaders of his time, with Bentham, James Mill, John Stuart Mill, Grote, Hume and others.

To all who are concerned with the problems of education, government, economics and labor, the book will be most stimulating. Particularly interesting is the story of how, after the surrender of Napoleon on July 15, 1815, the "Savage Parliament," which convened and continued for only thirty-seven days, spent that time in passing laws against blasphemy and sedition, against carrying arms and holding open-air meetings, and against writing or speaking on political questions, disregarding the failure of similar acts passed in 1795 to suppress political agitation. Even at that time "the people had become too well informed to be deceived." If American legislators would read the chapter entitled "Westminster Politics" it is possible that they might learn from history, that legislation cannot instill patriotism nor crush freedom of thought and speech.

It is interesting to observe, how Place escaped the tendency to become cynical, a failing to which those who are in close contact with the actual facts of political life are peculiarly liable. He succeeded in keeping his faith in the ultimate sagacity of all the people and also his belief, that it is, if only occasionally, "possible to appeal to that great, but overwhelming force, the political activity of non-political man."

Theodore Roosevelt once said: "The average man who is successful—the average statesman, the average public servant, the average soldier, who wins what we call great success—is not a genius. He is a man who has merely the ordinary qualities that he shares with his fellows, but who has developed those qualities to a more than ordinary degree." This fundamental truth is illustrated by Place's life. It demonstrates that the most humble person has great possibilities for the development and use of his ability for his own, and the public, good.

C. M. L.

THE NEW SOCIAL ORDER. By Harry F. Ward.
The Macmillan Company.

One would hardly suppose that in this day of unprecedented effort to increase "Christian" tolerance, sympathy and brotherhood, any Protestant denomination would dare institute an "Index Expurgatorius" and banish from an "authorized" list of books the works of a professor of Christian ethics in Union Theological Seminary. Yet this is precisely what the Methodist Church has done after pronouncing its anathema upon the total intellectual output of one of its members, Professor Harry F. Ward. Assuredly do the Methodist bishops stand convicted by all the more intelligent and discerning members of their church of having defeated the purpose of this censorship and stimulated the very heresy it was designed to suppress. "Repression," said President Wilson, "is the seed of revolution," and history has borne out the truth of the statement in the theological no less than in the political and industrial domains.

Professor Ward is a fearless thinker and writer and his masterly grasp on the subjects with which he deals is as marked as the frankness and freedom with which they are discussed. He is a radical in the most approved sense of the term. He is not an enemy of law and order but only of these as they now obtain among us, and he supplements his protests against existing laws and institutions by constructive proposals looking to better laws and nobler institutions. Moreover, with all his searching criticism of the social order that is,

Professor Ward yet recognizes elements in it that should be conserved, not only because of their inherent worth, but also because of their latent potentialities. In the breakdown of the present social order he sees the beginnings of a new and better civilization. In a few short sentences he defines the nature of the new social order. "The social order is not a framework external to humanity; it is composed of humanity itself. It is the thought and life, the customs and habits of the people. It is not a machine but a living organism, composed of personalities welded together in vital association, its forms and institutions are not only expressions of life; they are life itself. The family, the school, the church, the state, industry, are all composed of people. At times static as institutions, they are nevertheless throbbing with the lives of the individuals who make them."

Regardless of all opposition from men in high places of influence and power, all efforts to overthrow or thwart eventual fulfilment of the new order are futile. While most of the intellect in the world of privilege is engaged upon plans to stabilize the old order, its very basis is being undermined by the dynamic force of the working principle of the new order, the principle of mutual service. "While the forces which control the old order are seeking to repress by terrorism all movements tending to social and political change, millions of human atoms the world over are moving together to their respective places in a great co-ordinated organism to thus promote the common life and their own largest good. Aimless and blind in large part is this great movement of the common life, but rapidly gaining vision and discernment." Not through any class struggle will the new social order be advanced. Violence, like the boomerang, returns upon its projector. "If the spirit of combat continues to grow between the classes the spiritual qualities that the new order needs because it is going to be a co-operative order, will be so weakened and distorted in the struggle as to make impossible for several generations any healthy and wholesome development of life or much improvement in the manner of living. The American labor movement has suffered incalculably in moral and intellectual vigor because it has had to spend the greater part of its energies in resisting the aggressive attack of American capital. The idealism at the bottom of society which is making for the new order is mixed with selfishness and brutality just as it is at the top, and if the issue is to be turned into the field of force and the worst elements in the nature of the people will be let loose to the definite destruction of our social resources."

While believing firmly in evolutionary pro-

cesses Professor Ward holds that if these be made abortive by the attitude and policies of reactionaries, the new social order will come only through revolution.

The book consists of four parts devoted respectively to (a) the nature of the new social order, (b) its basic principles (equality, universal service, efficiency; the supremacy of personality and solidarity,) (c) present-day programs that are helping to develop the new social order (British Labor Party, Russian Soviet Republic, Independent Labor Party, Churches,) (d) the trend of progress, which the author conceives to be toward the extension of common control over matters hitherto held in private hands. The hope of the world is in the enlightened leadership and development of the resources of those who are at the bottom of the industrial struggle. Clarity of vision and sanity of judgment are in evidence in each chapter of the book though few readers will agree with the author in all of his pronouncements and predictions. Particularly to be commended at this time is the chapter on "The Soviet Republic." As an antidote for the fallacious doctrine of repression, and as a preventive against the present mental malady of hysteria—no less contagious than the influenza—we prescribe this central chapter of one of the best books of the day on the social question.

A. W. M.

THE CHURCH AND ITS AMERICAN OPPORTUNITY.
Being Papers by Various Writers. Read at the Church Congress in 1919. The Macmillan Company. Pp. 235.

The papers in this volume were read at the Thirty-fifth Church Congress in the United States, held in the Synod Hall in the close of the New York Cathedral in 1919. Men of differing churchmanship and differing temperament had sought for several months preceding the Congress to decide "what problems are the most important before the Church and what men are best qualified to bring out the convictions from the extreme right to the extreme left which are known to exist within the loyalty of the Church." The book represents the result of the deliberations of the committees of the Congress. Seven distinct topics were selected: (1) The effect of the war upon religion; (2) Shall the Old Testament be retained in the Lectionary and Sunday School? (3) The Obligation of the Church to support a League of Nations; (4) Essentials of Prayer Book revision; (5) The need of an American labor party; (6) Necessary re-adjustments in the

training of the ministry; (7) The function of the episcopate in a democracy.

"A rounded, self-consistent book," says the General Chairman in his introduction to the volume, "was not desired, but a wholesome array of opinion which may first show what men who care for the Church and religion in America are thinking, and then be suggestive towards the formation of earnest thought in the minds of those who resemble either Nicodemus or Gallo."

As a compendium of the reactions of live men upon the chief problems that confront the Church, the book has both interest and value. Not the least significant feature is the distinctly ethical standpoint from which the Episcopalian contributors discuss their respective topics. Rarely does one meet with signs of a sectarian *tendens* or a denominational egotism such as marked many a like series of discussions a decade or two ago. We welcome the book as another sign of moral progress in a realm where, in the past, it has often been looked for in vain.

A. W. M.

INTERVENTION IN MEXICO. By Samuel Guy Inman. Association Press. Pp. 248.

Valuable information is contained in this book by an authority who was for ten years director of a People's Institute in one of the northern Mexican states. He presents the problem of Mexico in the light of the injustices and difficulties which that country has encountered since the days of the Spanish conquest and especially since the Madero revolution of 1910. Sympathetic with the efforts of the present officials to put their house in order, Mr. Inman adduces facts of a sort which only very few of our newspapers see fit to print. The point of his book is a plea for a better American help in the toilsome process of rehabilitation than bayonets can possibly offer.

Professor William R. Shepherd contributes a vigorous foreword in which, among other things, he declares that the demand for intervention comes chiefly from "certain vested interests, American and European, who do not wish to obey the existing Mexican constitution."

H. N.

PSYCHOLOGY AND THE DAY'S WORK. By Edgar J. Swift. Charles Scribners' Sons. Pp. 388.

Professor Swift's observations upon our daily behavior are extremely suggestive.

They invite interesting reflection upon the conduct of our neighbors; but not the least service is their interpretation of our own behaviors and their many pertinent helps to the better ordering of our thinking and acting. Whether the subject is fatigue, the psychology of digestion or the psychology of learning, the chapters are always well-informed and happily concrete. Their advice on the organization of effective mental habits is especially profitable.

The ordinary blind acceptance of the leading of newspapers would be less common if more readers grasped the point in Professor Swift's thesis: "Man deals largely in phrases—in word-formulas. If we hear a phrase often enough, we come to think we see meaning in it, however senseless it may be. This method of directing thought into prescribed channels and damming it up by appealing to emotions and prejudices is so effective as to constitute at times a social menace." That today is one of these times ought to be obvious enough.

H. N.

THE SECOND BOOK OF MODERN VERSE: A SELECTION FROM THE WORK OF CONTEMPORANEOUS AMERICAN POETS. By Jessie B. Rittenhouse. Houghton Mifflin Company.

This is a volume to be commended not only to our members, but to our leaders. It contains many significant and beautiful poems which are expressions of the finer thinking and feeling of our living American poets—men and women—especially those of the younger generation. The range is wide and the subjects varied.

Many of the poems have already been tried out on St. Louis audiences, and have brought several inquiries as to the source and authorship. A case in point is the striking poem on Lincoln, by John Gould Fletcher, read on Lincoln Sunday; and one read on the preceding Sunday—"The Most Sacred Mountain," by Eunice Tietjens.

Experience proves that poetry goes best on Sunday morning. Prose offers no sufficient contrast to the address.

The present poetic output in this country is the most hopeful sign that, despite the confusion, bad feeling, and reactionism of the time, our choicer spirits are unprecedentedly fruitful of poetry that burns to a bright and often luminously clear flame. There is some noisy flaring to be sure; but as this one volume will prove, enough of the quiet steady light to be comforted by.

P. C.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN. A Play by John Drinkwater. Houghton Mifflin Company. Pp. 112.

Mr. Drinkwater paid a handsome compliment to America in selecting our most appealing national hero to voice the message that the way to restore our bleeding world is the way of goodwill. It is good to think that the play was written while the war was still raging. Many notable passages tempt to quotation; but two must suffice here.

Mrs. Blow, whose husband has made money out of war contracts, calls at the White House and says, "Is there any startling news, Mr. President?"

Lincoln: Madam, every morning when I wake up and say to myself, a hundred, or two hundred, or a thousand of my countrymen will be killed today, I find it startling.

Mrs. B.: Oh, yes, of course, to be sure. But I mean is there any good news?

Lincoln: Yes. There is news of a victory. They lost twenty-seven hundred men—we lost eight hundred.

Mrs. B.: How splendid!

Lincoln: Thirty-five hundred.

Mrs. B.: Oh, but you must not talk like that, Mr. President. There were only eight hundred that mattered.

Lincoln: The world is larger than your heart, madam.

Mrs. B.: I hope you will show no signs of weakening, till it has been made impossible for those shameful rebels to hold up their heads again. My husband says you ought to make a proclamation that no mercy will be shown to them afterwards. I'm sure I shall never speak to one of them again.

In the other scene, Custis, a negro, begs Lincon to take reprisals upon the Southerners for their shooting of blacks caught in the Union uniform.

Custis: Eye for an eye, tooth for a tooth.

Lincoln: You would not ask me to murder?

Custis: Punish not murder.

Lincoln: Yes, murder. How can I kill men in cold blood for what has been done by others? It is for us to set a great example, not to follow a wicked one.

No interpretation of a great and many-sided historical figure can satisfy every reader, howsoever the author may plead that he is writing not history but literature. Mr. Drinkwater's treatment of Lincoln is no exception. But it is much to be thankful for that in a day like the present, the citizen of a country much closer to the war than our own, should have seen fit to make his hero utter such views as we have here quoted—views which somehow failed to receive the wide acceptance we would have supposed their undoubted due.

H. N.

SANCTUS, SPIRITUS AND COMPANY. By Edward A. Steiner. George H. Doran Company. Pp. 320.

In most interesting fashion this novel raises the problem of nationalism by telling the story

of a little Slovak village before the Great War, and then the tale of a manufacturing city in Pennsylvania during the war and after.

The leading characters are three old men, who though differing in religion, have maintained a firm and beautiful friendship. Father Anton Kalman, a Catholic priest, was the Sanctus of the trio; Moritz Redlich has received the nickname of Spiritus because he distills such excellent plum brandy. The third figure is the Pan Yan, Sczenitzky, a strong upstanding Calvinist Slovak landowner. "They were the survivors of the good time, when in that corner of the world, Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant, Slav, German and Magyar, had lived together in amity, undisturbed by the religious and nationalistic struggles which were convulsing other folk in that little village, as well as the folk elsewhere."

Back to the little town, comes Yanek Hruby, a coachman's son, who fifteen years before, had emigrated to the coal mines of Pennsylvania. Unlike the greater proportion of emigrants who return to their native towns "eaten up by gas, parched by the hot furnaces, cursing in a foreign tongue, drinking like fish and eating like gluttons," Yanek comes back, a scholar and a clergyman.

The story tells how these four, and their fellow villagers are caught in the cataclysm of bigoted nationalism that helped so much to bring on the war. The author draws pictures of the way Slovak nationalism encounters Magyar and German nationalism, with moral disaster as a result. The three old men perish physically in the wreckage, although the book ends with a touching suggestion of the way in which their influence for good lives on.

Yanek flees for refuge to his beloved America, and there, in a smoky mill town, interprets America's ideals to a congregation of Slovak toilers and their families. "He realised, as he had not before his return to Slovak land, that he belonged body and soul to America; and he awaited with great impatience the time when he would become a citizen in fact, as he was already in spirit."

America's entrance into the war brings the tragedy in Yanek's life. He supports the war; but he has his doubts as he observes the conduct of the natives about him. "He often wondered if the men who so lightly used that phrase, 'making the world safe for democracy,' knew what it meant; to him it was a holy war on the part of the United States—a war for the whole human race, including his own people in Slovak land."

Then comes the catastrophe. Heated by the wartime ardor of demagogue politicians, the people turn upon the foreign-born population who had for years been their friends. They

lynch an innocent German miner and sing "sweet land of liberty" as they pull the rope. Hruby asks himself, "What is there left for humanity if America is to be defeated by her Steve Burleys"? At the ministers' club, he unburdens himself of this fear, and is promptly denounced as pro-German by a fellow minister who has been placed on the Council of National Defense. Though his faith in America has encountered a shock, he sets himself the more zealously to interpret American idealism to his simple Slovak parishioners who complain "America not good."

The message of the book is that if the new world for which mankind is waiting is ever to come, men must walk together in the spirit of Sanctus, Spiritus and Company. The story brings us down to the America of the moment, with its own over-fervent nationalism. Whether the material for the happy sequel, which Dr. Steiner we are sure would like to write, will ever be available depends upon the conduct of America's foreign-born; but in much larger measure it depends upon the natives.

J. W. N.

WITH SOUL ON FIRE. By John H. Randall. Brentanos. Pp. 324.

Dr. Randall's novel centers around the moral awakening which comes to a returned soldier through reinterpreting democracy as an ideal to be lived not in one phase of life alone but in all. Wounded and deserted on a French battlefield, the hero learns that "the thing I had been everywhere searching for outside, I now found lay within myself; it was my deeper union with all who live, with all of life." He carries out the new idea first in industry in his father's factory, then in marriage with the woman whom he regards as his true mate despite differences in religion, social class and education.

Because the author has a great thought in mind, it is to be regretted that he has not worked it out in better fashion. His hero would be a more admirable person if he bothered less about being understood. Any one with soul on fire goes ahead with the work he has been fortunate enough to find for himself. Understood or not, he fights on; for "the light in his eyes" comes only through combat. The woman too is hardly well drawn. Such a person as the author wants us to believe her, would neither grow miserable because of her husband's absorption in his difficult problems nor leave him as she does in the crisis.

There are many passages in the book to be commended. The general tone is indicated

in words like these: "Will you kindly tell me why the rich man can be so kind and charitable to starving Belgians and Armenians and everyone else except the very people who happen to be working for him and whose labor swells his bank account?"

J. W. N.

IDEALISM AND THE MODERN AGE. By George Plimpton Adams. Yale University Press. Pp. 253.

Absolute idealism is more or less on the defensive today. It views the world as possessing a reality independent of man's desires and as calling for the essentially religious attitudes of contemplation and worship. With this attitude our current pragmatisms are impatient. Life today, as contrasted with that of the older time, is characterized by the desire of men to make and remake their environment, exploit and incessantly reshape it, instead of accepting it as something final. Democracy, science, industry, are the outstanding evidences of this disposition. The universe they most desire is a world capable of control by man; and since pragmatist philosophy so aptly reflects this view, it is here that their highly influential favor is extended.

But pragmatism by no means appeals to every thinker. Among those who are seeking a more adequate interpretation of life, is the author of this volume. He cannot accept the thesis that life's values are but the expression and prolongation of interests. He holds that there are objective, significant realities, and that in participation in these is to be found the highest good of men. He pleads for an evaluation of modern ideals in this light, and hopes that thereby the world may add to the good accomplished in earlier times by the objectivism of the Platonic and Christian philosophies.

The case for a modern idealism is well put. Professor Adams appreciates the force of the pragmatist contentions. He recognizes what our changing conceptions of life have done to require a philosophy which bids men make their own world, and to live in the midst only of what they have themselves constructed, or brought under control. But he sees clearly the limitations of the naturalistic basis upon which pragmatism rests. Values are objective. Experience does not create, but discovers them. The self is the place where the sensible and the super-sensible orders meet. The basic problem, the task for religion, is to discover a more rational and enduring justification for man's ulti-

mate loyalties than the pressure of instinct. The nature of this ultimate reality the author does not here examine, although he seems to be attracted to the idea of some such a "beloved community" as that associated with the thought of Josiah Royce.

At this point readers of Professor Adler's *Ethical Philosophy of Life* will be reminded of the work that Dr. Adler has done in this field. The searching analysis of current ethical and religious needs, his construction of the ultimate reality as the spiritual commonwealth, his demonstration that there is, indeed, an objective basis for a religion of democracy, and his eminently practical deductions, would throw no little light, we are confident, upon the problem which Professor Adams has so ably broached.

H. N.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES FROM HAYES TO MCKINLEY. By James Ford Rhodes. The Macmillan Company. Pp. 461.

This book, which is added as an eighth and supplementary volume to the seven masterly volumes of the author's *History of the United States Since the Compromise of 1850*, is a good illustration of the old saw that "first the book makes the author's name and then the author's name makes the book." Published under anybody else's name than Mr. Rhodes, it would be condemned as ill-balanced, rambling and inadequate. After reading it, one almost resents seeing it bound uniformly with the "seven full" volumes—for it is as lean as Pharaoh's second crop of kine.

Of course, Mr. Rhodes is interesting. He writes out of an abundance of knowledge and in a style at once clear, dignified and forceful. The trouble is that here, instead of writing a consecutive and balanced history of the twenty-year period, he puts together a number of essays on interesting topics in substantially the form in which they have appeared in *Scribner's Magazine* or the *American Historical Review*. And the sutures are all too visible. For example, Chapter I (51 pages) is an essay on the Railroad Strike of 1877; Chapter II (35 pages) is an essay on the Molly Maguires; Chapter IV (18 pages) is an essay on the Republican Nominating Convention of 1880. These chapters are filled with incidents of minute detail and "local color," like Robert Ingersoll's waving of the red shawl on the convention platform or Governor Jewell's dodging the gyrating

parasol of the enthusiastic woman "rooter." In another place, the business affairs of Ward and Grant are discussed through several pages. The trial of Garfield's assassin is described at length, the operation on Cleveland's jaw is detailed even to the exact minute (1:14 p. m.) when he went under the ether, and (2:55 p. m.) when "a hypodermic of one-sixth of a grain of morphine was given"—while there is not a word about our quarrel with Italy over the New Orleans lynchings or of the important Samoan affair which marked our real entrance into "world politics." One is almost tempted to think that the author yielded to some pressure to "bring out" an eighth volume. It reminds one of Hor-

ace's famous figure of the mermaid ending in a "scaly tail."

Students of American history will probably be somewhat surprised at Mr. Rhodes' unfavorable judgment of Garfield. He doubts Garfield's loyalty to Sherman in the convention of 1880, reproves his "halt-ing utterances" on civil service, and regards him generally as a broken reed to lean upon, a man who "easily changed his mind and honestly veered from one impulse to another." We are not controverting Mr. Rhodes' views. But in a judgment so pronounced and so at variance with generally accepted opinion, we wish we could have had a little more evidence.

D. S. M.

THE ETHICAL CULTURE MOVEMENT

Celebration and Conference in Philadelphia

The Philadelphia Society is planning to celebrate its thirty-fifth anniversary next month. On Sunday, May 16th, it is expected that there will be a large public meeting, with prominent speakers, to commemorate the occasion, as well as a pageant to be given by the Sunday School.

The American Ethical Union will join in the celebration by holding its annual conference in Philadelphia from May 14th to 16th. The program for the meetings, which will include a number of features of unusual interest, is now being prepared, and will be announced in the May issue of *THE STANDARD*. Among other things, preparations will be made for the international conference of the Ethical Societies of England, France, Central Europe and America, which is expected to take place in Switzerland in June.

It is hoped that a large number of delegates may be present from the various Societies to join in the celebration of the anniversary. All of the leaders are planning to attend, and will hold their annual fraternity meeting on the day preceding the conference.

Keeping Mother and Child Together

A non-sectarian co-operative home club was opened in New York City on March 1st by the Federation for Child Study. This club is designed to enable working mothers who have been deserted, widowed or divorced, to live with their children and at the same time to earn a livelihood and be free from the necessity of accepting charity. The minimum rate for room and board for a mother and child is \$15, with a reasonable charge for each addi-

tional child. The mothers take their morning and evening meals with their children, assuming all responsibility for their care except during working hours.

The Normal Department of the Ethical Culture School, the Kindergarten and Hygiene Departments of Teachers' College, and the Child Education Foundation are all co-operating in the undertaking by sending their students, to whom due credit is given, to the home for field work. These students and the trained workers of the Federation supervise the children during the daytime, so that the mothers know that their boys and girls are well cared for, and return to find them in the evening amidst happy surroundings.

It is believed that the home club will lessen the responsibility of the community by decreasing the number of children in the Half Orphan Asylum, and by increasing the value of both mothers and children as good citizens, physically normal, mentally strong and morally clean. The undertaking is regarded as a pioneer experiment in fundamental co-operation, and one which is capable of great development in the future.

"School and Home"

"Free Activity in the Lower Grades" and "Education Through Experience" are among the interesting topics considered in the Winter Number of *School and Home*, the magazine published by the Parents and Teachers Association of the Ethical Culture School. This issue, which appeared last month, also contains an article by Professor William H. Kilpatrick of Teachers' College on "Teaching by the Project Method." That *School and*

Home is proving useful to a wide circle of readers is indicated by the fact that a request for thirty copies was recently received from the Board of Education of the State of Connecticut, and that copies have been requested by schools in a number of other states.

Hudson Guild Anniversary

The Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the establishment of the Hudson Guild was fittingly celebrated on March 13th at a dinner which was attended by 600 members and friends of the Guild. The speakers included Dr. Elliott and Dr. Adler, Mr. A. M. Bing, the president of the board of trustees, and a number of the Guild club members.

An attractively illustrated booklet which was issued to commemorate the occasion may be obtained by addressing the Hudson Guild, 436 West Twenty-Seventh Street, New York City. This booklet contains a short story of the Guild from the pen of the founder and headworker. At the conclusion of a most stimulating and interesting account of the vicissitudes through which the Guild has passed, Dr. Elliott says:

"It has often seemed to me that we social workers were trying to irrigate some of the desert places of life with a bucket; but that we should have to go deeper and far below the surface before we should find the waters of life. To do this requires expensive machinery, knowledge and faith, but where the well is rightly planned, down underneath the surface of the desert is found the only supply that can transform it—the desert must irrigate itself.

"We need a faith that the human wilderness and the human desert which covers such great areas in every city, has the power of self-transformation. Moreover, we need such a definite knowledge of these powers as will be sufficient to call them forth into the life of activity. However, no local agency is enough—twenty-five years have taught me to be interested in the Hudson Guild chiefly because of the principle which it illustrates. To me it demonstrates the existence of the uncommon good in the common man, and, further, the possibility of investing people with the conduct of their own affairs.

"But before this can be largely done, great changes must take place. Nothing perhaps has led me so much to believe in the necessity for fundamental change in all social life and structure as a very simple experience. We have many good men in the neighborhood who are working at Hudson Guild, but they are nearly all drawn from one class—they are either on the civil service list, as letter-carriers, policemen or postal clerks, or are skilled

wage-earners holding permanent positions. They are men who are above the fear of starvation for themselves or their families, and at the same time they are not attempting to earn much more than a living wage.

"Only those who are free from the fear of great poverty, and those who have given up or who have never had great wealth, can be counted on to produce any considerable number of good citizens. So long as the individualistic aims of wealth or personal achievement are dominant in life, I believe that the cause of good citizenship is hopeless; the welfare of America or any nation depends on those who are not seeking along individualistic lines for the chief satisfactions of life, but rather on those who turn to common enterprises. Some of us have come to believe in the coming of a new heaven and a new earth, to be established by the uncommon good in the common man, and to make this effective in its own little community has been the main effort of the Hudson Guild."

"The Modern Ideal of Marriage"

Under the above title, Mr. Alfred W. Martin is about to publish a new book, an expansion of a lecture delivered before the League for Political Education, and the Ethical Societies in New York, Philadelphia and Boston. The need for more light on the ideal of marriage than has been furnished by any of the historic religions is, Mr. Martin says, the chief reason for discussing the subject.

The new volume contains selections from ancient and modern scriptures on marriage, indicating the attitude found in Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, Mohammedanism and the religions of the Greeks and Romans. There is also a retrospect of the Jewish and Christian views, under the following headings: The Old Testament, Jesus, Paul, Jerome and Origen, Thomas Aquinas and St. Francis of Assisi, the Roman Catholic Council of Trent, and the Protestant Reformation. Following a constructive criticism of these historic attitudes, Mr. Martin deals with the elements entering into the modern idea of what marriage ought to be. Five chief reasons for marriage failures are stated, and two plays are dealt with as reflecting present-day standards and experience: George Middleton's *The Road Together* and *Nowadays*. Tennyson's contribution to the subject, as seen in the *Idylls of the King*, and the marriage of Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett, are also considered. And finally, the spiritual prerequisites for ideal marriage are discussed.

The price of the book to advance subscribers will be one dollar (postage ten cents in addi-

tion). Orders may be sent to Mr. Martin at 995 Madison Avenue, New York City.

Sunday Evening Meetings in Brooklyn

A series of Sunday evening meetings held at the Brooklyn Society House in March was devoted to the discussion of recent literature, including the following books: Edward A. Steiner, *Sanctus, Spiritus and Company*; George Duhamel, *Civilization*; C. S. Parker, *An American Idyll*; and Graham Wallas, *Life of Francis Place*.

The gratifying increase in membership and attendance at all of the meetings of the Society continues. In response to numerous requests, a chapter of the Federation for Child Study will be organized.

Addresses on Psycho-Analysis

A recent course of addresses on psycho-analysis, given before the Detroit Society by its leader, Mr. Daniel Roy Freeman, attracted large audiences. The following topics were considered: "The Meaning of Psycho-Analysis," "Psycho-Analysis and Ethics," "Mental Conflict and Misconduct in Children," "Is Civilization Psychologically Normal?" and "The Sublimation of the Instincts."

Increased Interest in Philanthropic Work

Our St. Louis correspondent writes that "the most significant development in the life of our Society is the increasing interest in philanthropic work." The March issue of the *Monthly Bulletin* of the Society contains interesting references to a great variety of community activities carried on by the Woman's Auxiliary and the Young People's Association, involving the making of garments and toys, the visiting of the sick and the blind, the entertaining of convalescent soldiers and sailors, etc.

"Twice-A-Year"

The mid-year number of *Twice-A-Year*, a publication edited and managed by a committee of the Children's Sunday Assembly of the St. Louis Society, contains a number of contributions both from children and teachers, among others, the substance of a recent talk given by Mr. Chubb to the older boys and girls, in which he attempted to explain what the Ethical Society stands for and how they may answer the questions of their schoolmates and others as to what is taught in the Sunday School.

Group Meetings in Boston

Following the series of public lectures in Steinert Hall, the committee of Boston people who have been interested in the establishment of an Ethical Society, held a meeting to discuss

plans for the future, and appointed a committee to consider the lines of work to be undertaken next season. It is expected that the main interest will be in group activities. In addition to groups for the consideration of educational and industrial questions, another, which was established this spring will study the principles of the Ethical Movement. The Twentieth Century Club has placed its rooms at the disposal of the organization, and meetings are held twice each week. Mr. Martin and Dr. Adler both met with the group in March.

Western Leaders Visit the East

During the past month, the Eastern Societies have enjoyed visits from Mr. Chubb of St. Louis, Mr. Bridges of Chicago, and Mr. O'Dell of Grand Rapids, who spoke before various Societies and groups and conferred with the other leaders. Earlier in the winter, Mr. Freeman of Detroit visited Boston and later spent some time in New York and Brooklyn.

The Chicago Platform

During the absence of Mr. Bridges in the East, the platform of the Chicago Society was occupied by speakers of unusual interest and ability. Mlle. Marguerite Clément, who lectured before some of the Ethical Societies last year, spoke in Chicago on February 22nd on the subject of "France and America." Other speakers were: Mr. S. J. Duncan-Clark, an international expert on the staff of the Chicago *Evening Post*, "The Constitution of the German Republic." Dr. Lynn Harold Hough, President of Northwestern University, "The English-Speaking Peoples and the Developing Ethical Life of the World;" and Dean Shailer Mathews of the University of Chicago, "The Reconstruction of Public Opinion." Mr. Bridges, who returned to the platform on March 21st, spoke on "The Duty of Happiness."

A New Society House

The wisdom of acquiring a Society house was discussed at length at the last conference of the Chicago Society. In response to an appeal sent to the 345 members, it was reported that a total of \$3,565 had been pledged towards the purchase of a house. The matter has been referred for final consideration to the annual meeting in May.

Mid-Week Study Class

One of the most interesting features of the work in Chicago, during the past year has been the Tuesday evening class which is considering the historical devel-

opment of ethical thought and practice. The purpose of the course has been to study history rather than ethical theory, and the questions which have been kept to the fore are: What is right? Why is it right? and, How can it be done? Utilitarianism, intuitionism and perfectionism are to be considered at the last meetings of the year, in March and April. The attendance has been large, and the subject has proven to be of fascinating interest.

The Bronx Group

The lecture platform at the Woodstock Library in the Bronx, in New York City, has been maintained successfully throughout the season, and it is expected that meetings will continue to be held during the month of April. Mr. George E. O'Dell, who has long been associated with the work in the Bronx, was able to meet with the Group on three Friday evenings during the course of his recent visit to New York.

The Group has arranged for an evening of readings by Mr. and Mrs. Charles Rann Kennedy (Edith Wynne Matthison), in the auditorium of the New York So-

ciety on April 19th. Tickets may be obtained at the Society office and at the book-table on Sundays.

The English Movement

The monthly journal of the English Ethical Movement, *The Humanist*, states that the Congress of the Union of (English) Ethical Societies will be held at Sheffield on May 15th, which is also the time that the American Societies will be holding their annual meeting in Philadelphia. The Sheffield Society has had a very successful season, with larger audiences at its Sunday evening meetings than ever before. At London on June 4th and 5th, there is to be a Conference of Modern Religious Thinkers, in which the leaders of the Ethical Movement are actively co-operating.

Professor John S. Mackenzie, whose *Manual of Ethics* is well-known in this country, has accepted the presidency of the English Union. At a recent meeting of the Council of the Union, Professor Mackenzie reminded his associates that he helped to found the first English Ethical Society more than thirty years ago.

D. S. H.

FAR-REACHING CHANGES IN THE GOVERNMENT OF OUR DEMOCRACY*

BY FELIX ADLER

THE bright minds of intelligent Americans have been active for some time past in proposing changes affecting the mechanism by which our institutions are worked. One of these is commission government in cities. By this the community strips itself of its powers temporarily, lodges them in the hands of select administrators, holding them responsible for the exercise of the trust.

The concentration of vast authority in the hands of federal commissions, like the Interstate Commerce Commission and others, is likewise an instance of the transfer of responsible functions to a select few.

Again the initiative and referendum have been ardently recommended. They mark an exactly opposite tendency, that of augmenting the direct influence of the people *en masse* on the conduct of public affairs. The initiative and referendum signify government by town meeting. They are useful expedients in the case of special issues, particularly moral issues, but the complex affairs of communities, much less of nations, refuse to be carried on in this idyllic New England fashion.

Senator Kenyon is now proposing, as a step in the direction of cabinet government on the English model, that presidential candidates be required to publish the names of their prospective cabinet thirty days before the election.

All these proposals or experiments in actual operation, however interesting they may be, deal with the externals of political organization and fail to touch the heart of the matter, the vul-

nerable spot in our system of government, on which I intend to speak in my address today.

This is the injurious effect of our system of government on the character of the citizens. It is this that preoccupies my mind. I ask myself, How can the working of democracy be so changed as to elevate, instead of dwarfing, the citizens? How can it be so changed as to be favorable to the spiritual life instead of inimical to it? The change must come from within; a new soul must be breathed into our government; it is not enough to merely tinker with the machinery of government.

Walt Whitman is not a prophet whose general teaching I follow, but he uttered a real and a mighty truth when he said: "You tell me about the mills down there where you live; and the goods you turn out down there where you live; but tell me, are you making men down there where you live?" Is our democracy turning out men? And since the human material is as fine in America as anywhere, is there anything in the raw workings of our democracy that accounts for the depreciation which in some important respects human nature suffers in our country? I do not indeed compare Americans unfavorably with Frenchmen, or Englishmen, or Italians, or others; I compare them with what one would expect of Americans. I am thinking of the dignity which freedom ought to bestow on human beings. I make no sweeping, pessimistic assertions either. I recognize that there are certain valuable qualities, such as independence of spirit, initiative, good humor, which appear prominently in American life. But as a physician when

* An address delivered before the New York Society for Ethical Culture Sunday, January 25, 1920.

called in to treat the ear does not spend his time in expatiating on the soundness of the eye, or of the lungs, or of the heart, but rather concentrates his attention on the diseased organ, so we are not to expatiate on the virtues to which democracy, even as it stands, is favorable, but rather concentrate our attention on the **weaknesses**, the vices, which it generates. And if there is that in the system itself which produces the vices, then there must be a change in the system, and a deep change—deeper than that of which the advocates of the referendum, or of commission or cabinet government wot of.

The jewel depends in no small degree on its setting. In an appropriate setting its luster is enhanced; in an inappropriate, the effect is just the contrary. A plant depends on the soil in which it grows. Be it naturally the fairest of plants, be it the royal rose itself, it cannot flourish in sterile ground. The human jewel depends equally upon its setting, the human plant upon its soil. Every one acknowledges the importance of the more restricted setting or environment of the family. A well-born child is one that comes of good heredity. (There are well-born children among peasants, ill-born children among the rich and the noble. There are degenerates among the nobility. These are ill-born.) A child is well-bred when the behavior of its elders is such as to impress upon it refinement in manners, in speech, in thought, in feeling. We are naturally imitative, and our character is largely formed by conformation, that is, by copying the conduct that is brought to our attention by incessant repetition.

The same applies to business and the professions. Business and the professions are a setting, a soil in which men grow. The moral development of young men who enter a business or a profession is influenced, immeasurably influenced, by the conduct of their chiefs. If the head of the business demeans himself by sharp practices, by dishonest smartness, he thereby pro-

motes, even without direct encouragement, the same deviousness in his clerks and salesmen. If he is a man of integrity, if he has the social spirit, he builds up a stricter conscience, a braver outlook, in them.

All this as relating to the narrower setting is matter of general recognition. But we do not commonly stop to consider how true it is also of the larger setting in which the jewel of our soul is fixed: of the citizenship setting, of the political soil in which we grow up. The influence of this too penetrates into the core of our characters, modifies for good or ill our veriest self.

Some of the evil influences I ask leave to point out. The misrule of cities under our present form of democracy is one. I speak of it from the point of view of its effect on the character of the young citizens who grow up to manhood or womanhood in a misgoverned city. Hold up to them high ideals of public spirit, fire them with the enthusiasm for the good of their fellowmen in your schools, on public platforms; yet how are your teachings apt to be set at naught by the gross facts which confront them in every newspaper they read. How can generous youths, witnessing the spectacle of inefficiency, the squandering of public moneys, worse men in power and better men subject to them, fail to become discouraged, pessimistic, or cynical? But the misrule of cities is only a symptom, and, after this brief reference, I pass on to the deeper cause.

That cause is the party system. Persons born in America are apt to think of the party system, with its oscillations, much as they think of the tides and the seasons. As well conceive of summer without winter as a Republican party without a Democratic and conversely. Third parties have in the long run always melted into one or other of the two predominant ones. The party system is today severely criticised in the land of its origin, Great Britain. On the continent assiduous efforts are being

made to introduce new methods of representation not along the dual party lines, as for instance the proportionate method of representation. We too shall make but little lasting progress until we have faced and solved the problem of a new basis of representation; thereby strengthening the legislative branch of government which is the beating heart of a genuine democracy.

Now to speak of the evil effects on character to which the party system gives rise, they are all centered in the word insincerity. The vice of monarchies is servility; the vice of democracies, as at present constituted, is false pretense, insincerity. The party system gives rise to professional politicians. What is their profession? Why, to profess a certain thing as a pretext for gaining something else; to profess public spirit, exceeding interest in the welfare of the people, and to gain thereby place and emoluments. What a profession—the profession of professing! I do not say that every politician is double-faced; but the exigencies of the party system are such that holding the ear to the ground, ostentatious echoing of opinions that happen to be popular in order thereby to ride into power, are almost inevitable. And with this goes hand in hand the base art of manipulation or of wire-pulling. A streak of insincerity runs through all the layers, all the strata of parties, from the top layer to the despised bottommost.

The programs of parties are a salad of diverse ingredients suited to the diverse tastes of the voters. The so-called platforms are constructed of planks,—some smooth and polished, especially in the language of the great orators of the party, some rough, but so ill put together that the candidate of a party often hastens to get off the platform as quickly as he can after election.

In consequence the mandate of the citizens at an election, is often difficult to discern with any clearness. Was Mr. Wilson re-elected because he had kept us out of the war, or because of his

progressive opinions, or on the score of both, or in despite of one or the other? The Democratic candidate some years ago was opposed to the Philippine policy, and was at the same time an advocate of "16 to 1." A certain elector was deeply concerned over the Philippine policy, and desirous, with the Democratic candidate, to see it revised. On the other hand the same elector was resolutely opposed to the policy of free silver. How could he, with due respect to his conscience, vote? Was not, under the party system, his conscience driven into sore straits? Are not all of us often in the same situation? Are not candidates, even for the highest offices, forced upon us, neither of whom we can honestly approve of? And yet, under the party system, we have no choice except to vote into the air.

These things have often been made the subject of helpless complaint. But the deepest moral evil in the party system has not yet been touched. This is the fact that a party is a part of the people undertaking to rule the whole, or rather a part that foists upon all the people the interests of a part as if they were the interests of all. The manufacturing states, of the East especially, have been protectionist. The Southern states, especially before the war, not making or selling, but purchasing commodities, were advocates of free trade. Did the industrial states declare protection good for their interest? No, they said protection is good for the interests of all the states; and they succeeded in carrying up what was a temporary and local interest into a more or less perpetual and general interest. So did the debtor states of the West insist on legislation to relieve them of their debts. The creditor states of the East insisted on legislation to increase the debtors' burdens. And, note well, that the parties were the instruments through which these partial interests were promoted. This is the radical, intrinsic falsehood of party under the dual system, that it represents

the interests of a part as if they were the interests of the whole.

If we survey the broader field of political history the world over we shall find that the motive forces that have made political struggles disastrous, and their effect on human character deteriorating, have ever been the same. Some one pebble on the beach, or collection of pebbles, asserts the universal validity of what is partial. In feudal times it was the military aristocracy, with the dynastic rulers at their head, who asserted their interest to be the interest of the state. Later on it was the merchant class who predominated, and today it is the capitalists who sit in the seats of the mighty. Only there is this remarkable difference, that while in former times the classes that had the power frankly, brutally said, "Our interests count and yours do not," today in our democracies, classes not being officially recognized, the classes that actually rule no longer say to those beneath them, "Our interest counts and yours does not," but say instead, "Our interest is your interest." In former days the vice of the state was brutality; today the vice of the state is false pretence, insincerity.

Nor does Socialism furnish the remedy, though at first glance it might seem to do so. I do not of course speak of it here with the animosity that is sometimes displayed toward Socialism in similar discussions, but simply look it in the face as a project of political reconstruction. It does not in fact abolish the obnoxious predominance of a class; it only provides that the class which predominates shall be the most numerous class. It seems indeed to solve the problem by inviting brain-workers as well as manual workers to join its ranks and gain control of the state under its leadership. But the word "worker" as used for brain-workers and manual workers in common is delusive. It tends to slur over the vital distinctions that differentiate them. Under the guise of putting the government of society in very truth in the hands of all, it tends to obliterate

the functional differences between the different kinds of workers which it is to the interest of society to see preserved and even emphasized; it denatures the so-called brain-workers by imprinting upon them the standards and ideals which prevail among the manual workers, and thus in effect makes one class, the class of manual workers, supreme.

I must bear hard on this point for a moment. The manual workers, in virtue of their impotence as individuals, are compelled to move *en masse*, and with the tendency towards uniformity which characterizes mass movements. Their standards are standardized. So are their ideals. They favor government through the elected representatives of the mass; while their ideal is that the material and mental goods produced in society shall be for the use and pleasure of the individuals that compose the mass. Now the mass in its majority consists of persons who are inexperienced with respect to any of the distinctive vocations. Under this system therefore there would be the rule of the expert by the inexperienced, a rule disastrous to progress, to self-respect, to character.

On the other hand, consider the conditions under which those who follow the so-called higher vocations—the scholar, the scientist, the artist—achieve their best results. A certain segregation from the greater number, a certain seclusion, is indispensable. Solitary thinking counts for much; co-operation it is true is also necessary, friction between mind and mind, but this with those who pursue the same vocation, who have the same purposes at heart. True, again, that the separatists must at last be judged by the common verdict of mankind; but in producing that which they submit to this verdict, they must be left alone. The premature pressure of the mass must not be allowed to choke off the independent outreachings of their genius, of their talents.

And as for the ideals of those who are now as brain-workers to be submerged in the mass of the hand-workers, these too

are in the nature of the case more disinterested. The scientist does not work primarily to produce that which shall be useful, in the meaner sense, or that which in the common acceptation shall contribute to the pleasure of his fellows. He labors to discover truth, or, as I should prefer to put it, to enhance human mentality, to extend the grasp of the human mind over more complex problems. Nor is pleasure the word for the satisfaction which at intervals he derives from his labors. I do not quarrel with those who have been shut out from their share in the government of the state because they now seek to collect all power into their own hands. I do not wonder that those who have been debarred from the pleasures of life should make universal pleasure their glittering ideal. But I should consider it a calamity if brain-workers were to be submerged among factory workers; if the higher methods and ideals which have been reached among the fewer number should be sacrificed in order to assimilate them to the greater number. The hope of progress lies in the opposite direction.

I return, therefore, to the statement that Socialism has not solved the chief problem of politics—how to bring it about that a part shall no longer dominate the whole, but that the whole, qualitatively as well as quantitatively considered, shall be completely represented in the government of the state.* The body politic, like the human body, consists of diverse members charged with diverse functions. The unity of the human body depends on the interaction of its members and the reciprocal adjustment of their functions. It is, or should

* Quantitatively, as we have just seen, Socialism might succeed in bringing about the government of all by all, but it would do so at the expense of obliterating the qualitative differences, the proper inclusion of which is essential to the true conception of the whole.

Guild Socialism provides for the relative independence of the various groups, but it seems to retain the idea of mass predominance within each group, and in particular the hedonistic motive and aim.

be, the same in the body politic. The error of our democracy, as at present constituted, is individualism. It takes the abstract individual as the political unit instead of the vocational group or the individual represented in and through his group. The great vocational groups into which society naturally divides itself are: the food-producing group, the commodity-producing group, the commodity-exchanging group, and the various professional groups. Vocational representation should take the place of representation by geographical districts. Vocational representation means that the lawmaking body, which is the heart of democracy, shall consist of representatives of the different social groups, of representatives elected by the farmers, manufacturers, laborers, merchants, etc., the new political constituencies. It means that the interests of each of the qualitatively distinctive groups shall be consulted and embodied in the commands which, in the form of laws, are issued by the people.

Certain advantages of this type of political organization are obvious. The best men of each group would tend to be nominated and elected to represent their group in the great lawmaking council of the people. There is no higher honor that men covet than to be dubbed first or chief among their own kind. To be *primus inter pares*, to be designated as the first, or one of the first, of the merchant class, one of the first of the industrial class, etc., would be the goal of great ambitions. There would thus be furnished a bait to attract into political life the very men who now forsake it disdainfully.

Next, the constituencies would have an influence upon the measures introduced by their delegated representative which they at present exercise either spasmodically or not at all. The laws to be submitted in the legislature in the interest of any of these natural constituencies would first be discussed and sifted within the group itself. The constituency would keep tally on its representatives, and

judge how far they are faithful to their trust.

But the delegates or representatives would also in turn be the political educators of their constituencies, a function at present quite overlooked. Sent to the legislature in order to stand for the special interests of their mandatories, they would often be compelled to realize that these special interests clash with the interests of other groups equally deserving of respect. They would hence be constrained to modify the measures which they were commissioned to put through, in order that partial interest might not conflict with the total interest. And in giving account of their action to their constituencies they would help to bring the total interest of the nation within the vision and closer to the appreciation of their separate group.

The system of vocational representation, instead of promoting log-rolling, instead of accentuating class interests, would have the opposite effect. It would acquaint those who might be at first disposed to insist selfishly on their special interests with the fundamental truth that "we are members of one another," that the interest of each group is in the long run dependent on doing justice to the interests of the rest. The fact is that the interests of the different groups are diverse. Vocational representation means, put your cards on the table, stand out in the open. Instead of slurring over or pretending to ignore the diversity of interests, declare them frankly, and then seek to adjust them. This is the fair political method. The life of politics consists in a continuous process of mutual adaptation. Whereas at present, on the pretence that there is no such thing as difference of interest, but only a single uniform interest affecting alike the entire people, the strongest class is enabled to palm off its special interest as if it were the total interest, and in consequence, though a part, to dominate the whole.

But there is this exceedingly important proviso to be added to what I have said. If the state is to be rightly ordered, if

there is to be a continuous movement towards the harmonizing of interests, the word "interest" must be understood in its proper signification. We must put before our minds an ideal conception of interest. I define interest in terms of service. The genuine interest of each group, and therefore of each citizen within the group, is to be in command of the conditions which make for the improvement of the social service to be rendered by the group. Service is the term by which interest must be interpreted. The groups are functional members. Their best possible functioning is their service. The material interests of the groups are not indeed negligible; they are the fundamental conditions for the rendering of the service, but not the only nor the highest conditions. The perfection of the service itself is the supreme interest of the group. None of the great groups as yet perform their service adequately. The food-producers do not yet feed mankind. There is famine in the world. The commodity-producers do not yet clothe or furnish mankind. The group of physicians has not yet conquered disease, etc. What is called progress amounts to this: that those who are charged with specific services shall increasingly and ever more adequately perform those services. And the state is that political organization the object of which is to supply the conditions, as far as by external action is possible, whereby the groups shall be enabled to accomplish their task. But the right machinery of government is the first condition of all to this end. And vocational representation, as I believe, is the right machinery of government. It would accentuate the end, as well as open up the paths along which that end might be accomplished.

There are many changes in the government of our democracies that will have to be faced. I have not space to work out the connection between the system of representation here sketched and those desirable changes. A few indications must suffice. The relation of the cabinet to the executive and to the legislature

will undoubtedly undergo a change. The great groups should nominate the cabinet ministers. The minister of agriculture should be nominated by the farmers. The minister of education, if we are to have one, should be nominated by the educators. The chief executive should be relieved of many of the superincumbent duties with which he is at present charged, and with which no single individual is competent to cope. There should be an upper house, or senate, acting as a balance wheel. The members of the senate should be elected among those who have served their term as representatives of the groups in the lower house. But the fundamental change of all is a change of viewpoint as to the end and aim of democratic government itself, such a change as the idea of vocational representation will bring to the fore. We speak of our institutions as free institutions. We insist on freedom as the characteristic mark of our democracy. But what is freedom if it be not the unbinding of capacities, of highest energies, in each citizen, for a noble purpose, for service. Service and freedom go together. Without freedom the highest service cannot be rendered. Without a lofty purpose mere liberty, in the sense of the unbinding of power, degenerates into aberrations.

I am well aware that there are many minor ends which government has been instituted among men to serve: the protection of life and property, the main-

ance of public order, defence against foreign aggression and the like. But all these ends are subordinate to the higher and highest end, which is that government shall react excellently on the character of the citizen. This is the statement with which I set out, and to this I return. The citizen will be exalted morally and spiritually when he shall see before him in the state the rule of the best and not of the worser elements; when in selecting his representatives or the candidates for executive office he is not limited to a choice of evils; when he votes on what he knows about in the first instance, as he would in voting in his group, and then is led to understand what to begin with he does not know about—the interests of the other groups; when his will is effective as a factor in framing the laws to which he is subject; when his personality is ennobled and his moral vision broadened by embracing the welfare of many, of the whole people, as if in truth it were his own; when participation in political life means for him to be trained away from narrow selfishness to wide disinterestedness.

I do not flatter myself that such a change as is here contemplated can be brought about by short-cut agitation. It must be the gradual result of a continued and intensive process of education. But a campaign of education must have a goal and a high goal, and such a goal it has been the purpose of this address to point out.

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THE TRAGI-COMEDY OF WAR IDEALISM*

BY JOHN A. HOBSON

If a gentleman of immaculate attire, and with a conscious air of superiority and deportment, were walking down Broadway in a heavy shower, and were to slip and fall to the ground, what would be the immediate reaction upon the feelings of the spectators? Would there not be an instinctive appeal to the simplest sense of the ridiculous in the contrast between appearance and fact? It is no evil commentary upon human nature that this should be so. One of our English philosophers, Hobbes, actually defined laughter as "a sudden glory," as being based upon a self-esteem enlivened by witnessing the failure of another. But if the fall of that gentleman were of such kind that you, standing in his near neighborhood, were splashed by the mud, that feeling of ridicule would perhaps be covered over in your case by some sense of indignation, or of self-pity. If, further, in falling he were to break his leg, ridicule, the element of the comic in the situation, would be immediately submerged by the sense of the tragic.

And so it is that in all departments of human conduct, in matters great and small, in the collective conduct of mankind as in the individual, you get this close relation between comedy and tragedy. It has been said that life is a comedy to those who think,

and a tragedy to those who feel. This is at best only a half-truth, but perhaps we are living in days when even a half-truth is fairly welcome. At any rate, my point at opening is to indicate how close together lie the sources of comedy and tragedy in the attitude of the human mind towards defeated expectations. For tragedy and comedy actually find their meeting place in the tears or the laughter of shattered expectations, and to-day we have perhaps as never before in the world the great opportunity of the cynic.

The costs of war are varied and numerous. The material and the physical costs displayed themselves in terribly tangible shapes. Later on come the moral and intellectual damages, and their form and outline are beginning now to take shape. One of the most dangerous of these is the growth of cynicism. The cynic at the outset of the war mocked at the great ideals that were set by the statesmen and the spokesmen of the peoples. "A war that was to end war;" "a war that was to crush out militarism from the world"; "a war that was to make the world safe for democracy;" "to establish justice and public law in the place of the arbitrament of force"—all these, and many other noble phrases were put up with genuine belief, as we must suppose, by those who uttered them. But there was the cynic, even at that time, who spoke with contempt of the alchemy which claimed to get golden conduct out of

* An address delivered before the Societies for Ethical Culture of New York and Philadelphia.

leaden instincts; who jeered at the idealist as "a beautiful but ineffectual angel, beating in vain his luminous wings in the void," as Matthew Arnold said of Shelley, the typical idealist of all time.

Now we are confronted with a human tragi-comedy upon the largest platform it has ever assumed in the history of the world, and for the moment the cynic seems to have the laugh upon us. His "I told you so" rings in our ears: "I told you that your magnificent pretensions and your sickly utopias about the coming society of nations were mere illusions." It seems as if his words were verified, that these unsubstantial visions had already disappeared. We cannot at any rate claim with any particular plausibility that this war has succeeded in ending wars, when a score of little wars are already blazing upon the ashes of the great war; that militarism is destroyed, when we see that the area of its control has merely been shifted; that public justice has been vindicated in any appreciable sense; that the causes of liberty and democracy are now thriving throughout the world as the fruit of the great war; that the conception of the League of Nations which buoyed up the hopes of many of us through dark and dismal years has been in effect achieved. It is a depressing time in the history of our peoples. We know well that our generous youth early in the war were kindled and inflamed by the faith in these great ideals; that many of them voluntarily sacrificed their lives for these very things which now appear to be tarnished and destroyed.

We British Liberals, who, early, in the war were trying to build up for ourselves, at any rate in imagination and intent, the structure of a future world of nations which should live in amity with one another, to lay at any rate the foundations of a society of nations, we were cheered beyond measure when the messages came across the Atlantic which embodied those ideals

upon which we were laboring, with a language and a force, with a magnificence of utterance which far transcended anything that the spokesmen of Europe had imagined. Here was the great champion of idealism, carrying with him, as we believed, and perhaps some of us still believe, the free will of the American people.

I am not going to dwell in detail upon these principles, or the points in which they were expressed. But I may remind you that there were three guiding ideas underlying those proposals. The first was the idea of self-determination. There are those who now are trying to whittle down the meaning of that political phrase, and I may remind you as members of an Ethical Society that it is not merely a political phrase. Self-determination is above all a moral, an ethical principle, and the first arena of its struggle or achievement is the life of the individual. The carrying up of that individual morality into the collective morality of single nations in their relations to one another was the idea contained in the word "self-determination." That is why that word has come with novel force upon all the thinking and feeling people of the world. The second principle was that of economic equality. If we are to have a safe future of the world there must be granted to all peoples upon fair terms the opportunities to get the physical necessities of life. That may be said to be the material condition of the future safety of the world, as essential on the economic side, as the principle of self-determination is on the political side. Then, added to these as a third constructive factor was the image of the new era of international justice, the destruction of armaments and appeals to force, and the substitution of an appeal to an impartial tribunal, and an orderly, representative system of justice.

Such was the general character of the idealism which came flowing to us across the Atlantic, and it was received with

welcome by all generous minds, not only in my own country, but in every country on the continent of Europe. They saw this power coming from a comparatively impartial people, who were putting forward their great vision for the acceptance of the staggering brains and hearts of Europe. And it received, I may remind you, the enthusiastic endorsement of our own statesmen. No one spoke more loudly in praise of these principles of a stable and enduring and healing peace than Mr. Lloyd George, the Prime Minister of our own country. But what happened? These principles, these ideals, were put to the test of performance. The great moral drama of Versailles opened, what in more vulgar language may be called "the show-down." And what was the result? I think that almost all fair-minded observers will say there was a pretty full collapse of this idealism before the assault of the realists.

And I want, at the risk of offending some of you, to insist on the nature of this contradiction between pledges and performance. I speak of pledges. I have not used this word before; I have spoken of ideals. I wish to remind you of what some of you may not have been permitted by your press clearly and effectively to understand: that these ideals were not merely held up in the air, they were converted into positive pledges. The Allied governments countersigned the "Fourteen Points" of Mr. Wilson and offered them, countersigned, to the German government in order to induce surrender. That offer was effective in breaking the persistent militarism of Germany. It stirred the passion of revolution in the German people and compelled surrender. I do not say that it was the only compelling factor. I do say this with confidence: that history will pronounce that the offer of peace upon Mr. Wilson's "Fourteen Points" and his principles was an essential means of acquiring the

complete surrender of the German army and people.

What happened afterwards? Ideals had been successful. They had achieved what it appeared to some they were intended to achieve; they had produced a moral effect upon the mind of the German people; they had broken the unity of the German mind. For the German people, at any rate many of them, believed that the Allied governments would be under some sort of compulsion from America. I do not think they would have accepted the word of Mr. Lloyd George, or M. Clemenceau alone. But they did believe that behind Mr. Wilson's statement there was not only his firm and undisguised conviction, but the higher spirit of impartiality and judgment of the American people. They believed that substantially the peace would be made upon the pledges that were offered. Yet they were deceived. The deception soon appeared. It appeared at the time of the armistice, for the armistice turned out on one side to be no armistice at all. For what was the great power that gripped the peoples of Central Europe? It was the power of the blockade. The blockade was the great arm of the war against them, greater even in the long run than the force of armies. Was that blockade terminated at the time the armistice was declared? It was strengthened; although in the terms of the armistice it was promised to feed the people of the Central Powers "as far as might be necessary." So far from that being done, for the first four or five months the blockade was tightened into what is called in international law the "strangling blockade," which is justified only on the ground that it is a necessary reprisal for breaches of international law upon the part of the army of the enemy.

The blockade was also extended in the case of that great country upon whose raw resources of food and materials the future reconstruction of

Europe was most dependent. I mean the case of Russia, and I wish you to understand clearly, without mincing words, that the Russian episode was a formal and real breach of international law. There was no declaration of war against Russia. The Allies were not formally at war with Russia. And the pretext that they had to meet the opposition of German forces in Russia was proved by events to be false. This lamentable pretense that there was some justification of outside interference with the self-determination of the Russian people, because they were the dupes and slaves of the forces of oligarchy, has altogether collapsed under the test of experience and of fact. We have admitted the lesson of experience by the withdrawal, after an immense waste of lives and resources, from this attempt to interfere with the self-determination of another people.

But the terms of peace themselves are the most convincing criticism of the collapse of idealism. For if you were to examine these terms of peace—how many of you have done so?—you would discover not merely one or two little violations of the principle of self-determination, or the equality of economic opportunity; you would discover that the whole treaty was perforated by these perversions and violations. The cases of Fiume and Shantung are simply two out of a score of similar violations of the principle of nationality. The claim is made of the effective liberation of small peoples, but these small peoples are hampered from their very birth by other elements of foreign population thrust upon them or accepted by them in the spirit of a new imperialism, and they are new menaces to the order of Europe—and not merely menaces, for they have been already the source of several armed conflicts, because the principle of self-determination was not applied with equity.

And so it is with the great economic principle of equality of opportunities. The tragical case of Austria today is

of course that which brings home this lesson with the greatest force. Austria, like every other part of Europe, had grown up during generations of normal intercourse into such a shape that no one province or portion of that empire could live by itself. And the German part of Austria had become riveted firmly in its dependence upon those portions which now have been taken out of it and set up independently, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and the new Bohemia. These parts cannot remain in permanent isolation. But the present situation is that they have been made into economically unrelated fragments, and that this breaking up of the essential economic solidarity which had behind it the history of ages has been the cause of the degradation of millions of the population, and the starvation of millions of people which is going on at the present time. This was imposed by the terms of peace, and in the name of an idealism which included not merely the old economic relations, but the better economic relations which were to be represented by true equality of opportunity. If the peace had been made with such free intercourse between the different segments of the new Europe as had been promised, I do not say that there would have been no poverty and no privation—the war itself with its enormous destruction of resources would have brought that about—but there would not have been all that starvation, all that absolute destruction of the life of the young and the old people which is going on today in the central parts of Europe, aye, and not only in the enemy parts, but in Poland and Serbia and other countries with which we are in most profound sympathy. These have suffered because performance has not followed pledge.

I think that when the calmer and more impartial historian of the future comes to write the history of these things, he will pronounce this failure of Paris to be the greatest single act of perfidy that history records. He

will set it against, I do not say that it will overbalance, the guilt of the German imperialists in bringing about the precipitation of this terrible war. I make no computation about guilt, nor do I impute that guilt to the clear consciousness of statesmen who were its instruments. I do not think that is the way human nature works, either now or at any time.

There are those of course, who think that what I have said just now is simply untrue in point of fact, that the principles, and covenant of the League of Nations have been constructed in material conformity with the pledges on which they were based. It is fair that I should make this acknowledgment, because I read in one of the great English newspapers the following, which indicates this view: "The war proved forever that idealism is the master force in modern politics." I suppose that even those who claim that this is so would make certain little concessions. They would say you cannot expect to have ideals consummated immediately, that the ideal principles for which we professed to be fighting are substantially included in the terms of peace, just as one, in commending the high moral character of some person might say of him that he was a man of supreme excellence in moral character, that he kept faithfully all the Ten Commandments with the occasional infraction of numbers six, seven and eight. Is not that what it amounts to? It is a question of degree, of course, and I think, if I had the time, and you had the desire, I could prove to you, if it were necessary, that the amount of violation of these principles is such that we are not justified in merely saying there was a failure to achieve complete success.

What then, are we to say of the people who thus failed, or who were thus formally responsible for this failure? Are we to speak of them as hypocrites? Now hypocrisy is a hard word to use, and it is a false word in

ninety-nine cases out of a hundred where it is applied. There are very few hypocrites. This is too simple a psychology. There may have been persons who, in Tennyson's words—

Never naming God except for gain,
So never took that useful name in vain.

I have never met one in the flesh. And it is wholly unnecessary to suppose that the statesmen who are formally and directly responsible for this peace and this covenant of the League are hypocrites, or have any tinge or touch of hypocrisy in them. That there is a certain imperfect sincerity at work is another matter, and it is worth while pausing for a moment to attempt to distinguish the nature of that imperfect sincerity.

You find it I think in three approaches to ideals. The first approach is that of a man whose mind is permeated with the truth and the vital importance of these great principles. He is so possessed by them that he has identified his personality with them, and looks upon himself as dedicated in his whole career to the realization of these principles. They become so closely attached to him, as his very property and self, that he cannot see them unfulfilled. Then comes the temptation to which he may yield of seeing them fulfilled when they are not fulfilled, of accepting certain formal glosses as if they formed the reality of performance.

There is a second attitude, that of the lighter-minded politician, whose attitude towards the acceptance of ideals is more that of the actor, who identifies himself quite genuinely, so far as it goes, with the character he is called upon to assume, who is responsive to the glowing emotion of the people around, who accepts and believes in, for the time being, the principles and ideals which they evoke in him, and which he arouses in them. That sympathy of the great orator and politician is an attitude towards ideals which is different from that which I first described. The ideals

are held quite loosely. They are not considered in relation to principles at all. And often a new set of lower ideals has been accepted in the interim with the same measure of loyalty and faith. And when the question of performance comes, there is no attempt to make the facts conform with those ancient theories or ideals which had been once held.

Then, of course, it must be admitted, there is a third approach, that of the man who never did profess these ideals, who regarded them from the outset as unpractical, and perhaps even unjust, and who was only led formally to countersign them because of the weakness of the other parties with whom he had to deal. He never made any serious pretense of believing in them. Can you say that he was a hypocrite if he failed to apply principles to which he was formally committed, but which were never his truly accepted principles? I do not think the term hypocrisy is ever applicable. It is far too simple a psychology. You are dealing with a number of motives which cross and intertwine with one another, and which can lead and seduce a man from the plain path of performance into that which opportunism and exigency impose upon him. That is the way in which the juster and more charitable person will deal with men who are responsible for what was in fact a great betrayal of the early principles and ideals of the war.

But perhaps a deeper and more important ethical problem arises from these considerations: how far are the better, higher ideas proved to be illusory forces in the play of history? I think we may best test this by a brief reference to what is known as the moral struggle in the individual life. If the moral struggle, as we understand it, is always a struggle between some personal ideal of a complete and true human life, which however imperfectly is set up by all of us who profess to have any moral principles, it is a struggle between that

conception of the good of our whole personality against the pressure of the lusts, the impulses and the sudden temptations that are brought to bear upon those principles. It is a fight of those lusts and impulses seeking to overthrow the dominion of the rational will which should be our guide and ideal arbitrator. We can understand from that a little more of the nature of this great collective failure, because we know what the condition is which makes all of us at times yield to temptations of the world, the flesh and the devil. It is that they can get their work in quicker; it is that they propel to action with great rapidity, whereas the rational will, and the thoughts which depend upon it, require the time element of suspense in order that they may make their true dominion effective. Now that is the condition for the yielding to the temptation to violate ideals in the individual life, and is it not the same in the world of nations, in the larger life? I think this same lesson is writ large in history. These are not mere illusions. The very fact that all the statesmen of the world at the beginning of the war pronounced these great ideals proved that they considered it necessary to make an appeal to some great convictions widely spread in the minds of the people. They were not merely illusions; mere illusions could give no fighting force.

There are many people who, if they do not say that ideals have been proved to be illusory, regard them as of such a frail nature that they are always tempted to be overcome by the assaults of strong, selfish groups of people of that hard, practical kind for whom the world in their opinion is made. Now is that so, or is there some more ultimate ground for ideas and ideals than we have yet fully recognized? I think there is, and that it may start from the simple assertion that idealism is rooted in the necessities of organic life itself. We have to look for the beginning of idealism below the conscious

life of man to those early social necessities which bind individual to individual in pre-historic times, ay, in pre-human times; for the necessity, the physical, biological necessity of effective co-operation between individuals, and of evoking the affections which shall bind people to work together, lies behind the whole course of human and organic history. It is at the root of all that we call social evolution. Without this assumption mankind could not apparently have survived at all. The biological and psychological survival value of mutual aid is the basis of all idealism.

First of all, it is not conscious at all. It lies in what we call the world of instincts. It drives parents to conserve the lives of their young even at the sacrifice of their own. It drives people belonging to the same class of the community, clan or group by what we call the gregarious instincts to herd together for defence, or for common purposes of procuring food and the necessities of survival. It impels them to the process of reproduction, which shall give a physical basis for the continuation of the race. And, as environment changes, and social institutions are built by the pressure of these very instincts, you get the dawn of reason; and the instinct which first obliges people to herd together, and to act together for purposes of physical survival, is taken as a positive principle of conduct.

That is the great change. Then begins the power of the ideal, and it is built upon the solid basis of biological necessity, and of action bred of that necessity. So it comes that in the evolution of society you get first of all the spread of sympathy and a more solid personality, the individual subordinating his temporal desires and lusts to the need of the larger life for himself, and also for his offspring. Then you get the conscious development of the family and those feelings and principles of human life which are recognized as the earliest of the socially upbuilding principles. And so, by the

course of evolution, you get the expansion of those institutions into the life of the tribe and of the nation, and into the larger federation of national elements which come into modern historic life.

Is there a limit to that expansive use of social co-operation? Are we to say that the nation is the ultimate in this process of social evolution, that there is no further gain to be got by the organization of economic and political relations between nations and states? That is perhaps the form of the problem which is the most prominent at the present time. There are those who assent to all that I have said up to the standpoint of the evolution of the nation, and they say that there is some law inherent in the order of things which bids the course of human evolution to stop with the national state, and to make for the preservation of the world in the shape of a number of perfectly independent states, whose autocratic judgment as to their own needs, necessities and points of justice shall be kept narrowly within their own parliament; that they will not, either now or in the future, submit any of those national interests which they judge to be vital to a larger and what is claimed to be a more impartial arbitrament outside. In other words, they will not admit the full extension of this upbuilding principle of social life, so as to gather up the special qualities of each nation and federate those nations in a larger political instrument of humanity itself.

In every case, it is, as I have said, a question of the struggle of the narrower and the more selfish impulses and desires to pervert the higher human urges. The life of individual impulse, the selfishness of individual men and women today, may be a terrible impediment to the development of civilization, from the simple refusal of large numbers of the best elements in the higher developed nations of the world to perform the act of physical reproduction.

Those who are aware of what is happening in the world at the present time know that the decline of the birth-rate in the best stocks of the world is a real peril in the development of humanity. And that means the insistence of individuals that they will exploit those particular forces which nature has exposed, for their own profit, comfort and luxury.

I do not say that this is the only cause. There is a much more complicated psychology than that. I have had special opportunities for the study of this subject. There is a substitution of individual desires and interests for the larger good of humanity. And what applies here applies in similar fashion to the tendency and temptation of every party, class, or sect within each nation, to use the larger powers of the nation for its own class purposes and dominion. "Everywhere," said a wise man five centuries ago, "do I perceive a certain number of rich men procuring their own commodities under the name and pretext of the commonwealth"; that is, not only gangs of profiteers as they are called in this and every country, but any sectional group of people who seek to make the public welfare their own cause by subordinating it to their private interests.

At Paris, as I see it, at any rate, it was the passions, the ambitions, and the fears of politicians and soldiers believing only in force, of embittered statesmen and intriguing concessionaires, that found a favorable atmosphere in the victory of the moment in order to lay out the world for their own future private ends. The idealist has sometimes appeared to be a ridiculous, a comic figure, and at first sight he so appears in such a world. Justice, liberty, self-determination, the moral pillars of democracy appear to have been shaken. Civilization, it is sometimes said, is itself in danger of going to pieces.

I wish to put in here a protest against

any such fear or such conclusion, and to remind you that the securities for civilization are far more enduring, far stronger, and far more real than they appear, even in the present moment of depression. For the larger lesson of human history is that the forces of human co-operation do ultimately triumph, do ultimately bind men in larger, closer and more complex unions, and this in spite of the attempts of narrow selfishness to exploit these social influences. In other words, I appeal to the survival value of ideals as the new security for civilization. As ideals pass from the stage of unconscious instinct into the stage of accepted, rational facts, so they form a body of collective faith which is not to be styled as mere illusory rhetoric, but which rests upon the real collective impulses that lie at the root of human life. These expanding forces of humanity, this urge toward ever-widening processes of co-operation, may be kept in bond for a time in certain places and at certain opportunities. They may be placed at the control of certain powerfully organized selfish forces within the state, or within a group of states, as appears at the present time. There is a real danger now lest a group of governments, saying that they represent the welfare of their people, should undertake to govern, in the so-called interests of a society of nations, the whole of the rest of the world, utilizing the resources of the world primarily for the satisfaction of their own ideas or interests. But even this danger I do not hold to be an ultimate one. There is no natural limitation to human co-operation. The forces of economic, social, scientific, philanthropic interest beat ever more strongly against the barriers of an exclusive nationalism, and the false patriotism which stands upon it. In sheer self-defence, for their own interests, as well as for the interests of one another, the nations must come together in some decent federation of human society, or else there will be

the temporary upsetting of the whole process of civilization, as there was at the close of the Roman Empire.

We have reached a critical stage in the development of civilization, and every intelligent man and woman in each nation must now put to him or herself the question: "Am I my brother's keeper?" It is not a question merely of individual import, inasmuch as each nation must realize that it is also the keeper of its brother nations, that there is a real necessity for nations holding together, and for nations behaving in a manner which is consistent with their new ideals of justice. There was a time when the relations of individuals, as of nations, were dominated by force, when force was synonymous with justice, and when liberty had no meaning except the right

of you and your friends to say, to think, and to do, what you and your friends wanted, while any similar claim of other people was license, to be put down by whatever force was necessary.

That issue is not settled; for the effective co-operation of classes within a society, and of nations within the society of nations, depends, as we know, upon the healthy functioning of public opinion, and unless you have conditions in each community which favor that healthy life of public opinion, you cannot have the conversion of instincts into just ideals, which I have suggested as being the essence of a true society. The fortification of these human instincts by converting them into conscious rational ideals,—that is the only guarantee which civilization possesses in the long run.

THE WORLD UNREST AND HOW TO FACE IT*

BY DANIEL ROY FREEMAN

One may be a long time in approaching a bend in a mountain road, but when one reaches it the turn comes abruptly and one finds oneself suddenly going in a different direction and surrounded by a new landscape. Mankind is now rounding such a curve in its onward career. The aspect of life is changing. The race is adapting itself to novel conditions. The form of thought and experience is undergoing a metamorphosis. Institutions are dying. Institutions are being born. The world is filled with ill-suppressed excitement. Everywhere is to be found an undercurrent either of expectancy or of fear. The common mind is beset with a restlessness that betrays itself in speech

and action. There is a recent marked increase in divorce and in crime. The old Russia has vanished. Germany is a republic. There is revolt in Ireland. India is surging. Students strike and women vote in China. The day's news is exceptional that does not record a gigantic strike or rumor of strike.

Says General Smuts concerning the Continent of Europe: "Her lot is indeed pitiable beyond words. The Continent which is the motherland of our civilization lies in ruins, exhausted by the most terrible struggle in history, with its peoples broken, starving, despairing, from sheer exhaustion, mechanically struggling forward along the paths of anarchy and war, and seeing only red through the blinding mist of tears and fears—almost a mad Continent, more

* An address delivered before the Detroit Ethical Society.

fit for Bedlam than for the tremendous task of construction that lies before it. * * * It is the most awful spectacle in history and no man with any heart or regard for human destiny can contemplate it without the deepest emotion."

These various manifestations of the spirit of the time, these revolutions, sporadic wars, strikes, apathy, surgings to and fro, runnings after amusement and change, are the body and trappings of the thing. The soul of the restlessness is in man's state of mind.

How may we best face this unrest? What should be our attitude towards life in the present condition of world affairs?

In the first place I think that we should try to understand the restlessness. We should not take a superficial view of it or pass hasty judgments upon it. We are in and of our age to be sure. We are a part of its game of snap-the-whip. Our hands are joined with those of our fellows and we sometimes fall with them in a heap and are bruised. Now and then we wish that we might retire from the mêlée and become *Il Penseroso* of Milton, or even a Thoreau or a Robinson Crusoe. The better counsel, however, is to keep our place in society, to play a difficult part as well as we can, but to remember the injunction of Epictetus that we are to be not only actors in the human drama but also observers; and not only observers but interpreters. "Both in and out of the game," as Whitman says, "and watching and wondering at it."

The unrest of our age is not to be explained on the assumption that the men and women who compose it are essentially different from those of other times. There has been no known change in the general natural endowment of the chief peoples of the world for twenty-five thousand years. The substructure of our mental life is probably but little distinct from that of our ancestors who built the villages of North-

ern Europe in the late Stone Age. The excellencies of our time, therefore, are not to be credited to individuals, nor its faults laid upon individuals or classes or even upon generations, in a narrowly personal way. Place should be left, indeed, for the assignment of private responsibility. An understanding of the times calls, however, for far more than the praise or blame of individual persons. The present age belongs in the succession of the centuries. The terms of all its experience, like the style of its architecture, the inflection of its language, the technology of its art and industry are related to the remote and to the immediate past.

When all things are considered, it would be incomprehensible if the present age were not either restless or astonishingly strong and self-contained. The only factor which might have prevented strife, uneasiness and bewilderment would have been a very large capacity on the part of human beings generally to digest and assimilate quickly great, heterogeneous masses of experience.

During the past century, and especially during the past half-century, the human consciousness has been besieged and stimulated by an ever-increasing bombardment of experiences. The development of mechanical force has filled the world with its consequences. The coal output of the world has doubled every ten years since 1840. Electricity fills every civilized land with a live network of energy. Man has evoked these forces but what have they done to man? They have drawn men, like iron-filings following the beckoning of a magnet, from villages and farms to great factories. They have concentrated production and built cities. They have multiplied labor power and have given wealth to millions. They have driven ships wherever the sea is blue and have thrust men of all climes, colors, religions, languages into associations of give and take. They have made of the world a whispering-

gallery. A word uttered in Tokyo is heard simultaneously in every land. They turn printing presses and lay at out feet every day in word and picture the passing history. By them man has become a winged creature, flying faster to fulfill his purposes than any bird.

It could not be supposed that the emotions and thoughts, the actions and world-view of mankind would remain untouched by these changes in his daily manner of life. His will to power has grown lusty on the development of mechanical force. The large aggregations of men and machinery necessary for economical production have furnished scope and challenge to leadership. The prizes of leadership have been conspicuous. The congregation of people in cities has brought the seeming glory of the successful constantly before the eyes of the multitude. A universal feverish thirst after power and the fruits of power takes possession of the general soul. Viewing current society as represented by New York, Henry Adams wrote: "The approach to the city from Sandy Hook was more striking than ever—wonderful—unlike anything man had ever seen—and like nothing he had ever much cared to see. The outline of the city became frantic in its effort to explain something that defies meaning. Power seemed to have outgrown its servitude and to have asserted its freedom, the cylinder had exploded and thrown great masses of stone and steam against the sky. The city had the air and movement of hysteria, and the citizens were crying, in every accent of anger and alarm, that the new forces must at any cost be brought under control. Prosperity never before imagined, power never yet wielded by man, speed never reached by anything but a meteor, had made the world irritable, nervous, querulous, unreasonable and afraid."

The eaglet has little choice when it is snugly confined within the home nest. After maternal roughness has pushed it over the edge into the uncharted

air, however, a thousand ways lie before it. Now it has a problem to solve every moment. Mankind has been thrust into the open. It must use its wings. It must make decisions. The farmer boy has become the manufacturer. The village reporter is now the owner of a metropolitan newspaper. The former dweller in a ghetto is master of commerce and millions. Spoon River has built Chicago out of Spoon River folk. The scope of activity has widened. The boy has grown to be a giant over night. He is under the constant necessity of determining how to employ a giant's strength.

At the same time during which the forces available to mankind have been on the increase vast new funds of knowledge have been thrust upon him. It is growing daily more difficult and more interesting to be a cultured person. Milton, journeying through Italy, intelligently responsive to its music, familiar with its language and history, holding intercourse with its poets, its artists, its statesmen and its scholars, fills accurately the rôle of a person of culture. With respect to Europe and America it has been not impossible in the past for an assiduous person to move from country to country and to hold interchange with the chief scientists, writers and men of affairs on a footing of understanding, and to their mutual delight. Every branch of human attainment, however, is growing so long and is putting forth so many off-shoots that the days are becoming too short to examine them all. There are stirring new movements in music, poetry, science, politics, industry, painting, engineering, religion, architecture, psychology, etc. It is increasingly hard, if ever more desirable, for one to be intellectually and spiritually a citizen of the Western Hemisphere.

During the past half-century, however, the reward and the problem have been doubled. The East and the West have met. Neither in the great East nor in the great West can a strong

mind be content to limit its culture to its native hemisphere. When either the Oriental or the Occidental modernist, however, seeks to domesticate himself in the life of the antipodes he discovers how vast and complex is his undertaking. The lofty and scornful nobleman and philosopher of China who covers the entire world of bleached foreigners with a common mantle of pity and indifference, not so much hating them as ignoring them, massing together Poles, Germans, Hungarians, Americans, Frenchmen, Portuguese, Jews, Celts, Catholics, Atheists, Quakers, Doctors, Christian Scientists, Captains of industry, I. W. W.'s without discrimination, is not more faithless towards his privileges than the Occidental who looks upon everything east of the Caspian Sea as a unit and calls it "The Yellow Peril."

The times challenge every man to abandon his isolation and to become planetary in his culture. To be universal, however, one must be fundamental. To be fundamental one must be thoughtful. Conventional ethics, traditional philosophy or religion will not answer. Thus far the intermingling of modes, cultures and religions has served more to weaken the authority of each in the minds of its adherents than to promote a higher synthesis.

The question now arises whether this first step in dealing with current unrest does not make all the other steps unnecessary because they are seen to be impossible. When we understand the restlessness do we not discover that it is a constitutional ailment, a cosmic disturbance without remedy? "Thought," says Adams, again, "has more than once been upset, but never before caught and whirled about in the vortex of infinite forces. Power has leaped from every atom. * * * Man can no longer hold it off. Forces grasp his wrists and fling him about as though he has hold of a live wire or a runaway automobile." Are we not helpless; even destined to be yet more savagely set

upon and at last completely distracted if not maddened by the growing forces which agitate us and complicate our life?

This would be an exciting climax to the human drama, and I must say that it seems to me a not impossible outcome of existing tendencies. The mind of man may prove not sufficiently supple, adaptable and athletic to meet the new conditions. As a race we may be eugenically too backward to solve the problems of social organization thrust upon us by the accelerating forces. Already we have permitted our most highly civilized nations to preside over the slaughter of the flower of their youth. Nor has sufficient wisdom, integrity and spiritual force yet made its appearance to establish a just peace. The world lacks in wisdom, integrity and spiritual force. This deficiency has always been serious. Under modern conditions, when such amazing power and responsibility devolve upon the individual, the want of ethical stamina and practical judgment may lead to results more appalling than the late war.

What does the situation demand? How should the unrest be faced? If the occasion requires a super-mankind, we are doomed. If we who are in the world have in us no reserves of ethical power, the day is lost. For the challenge which the times issue is presented not to others but to us. Whatever will be done, we shall do.

That which the situation demands is that we should rise to the occasion, that we should accept the challenge flung in our faces by the new forces and the enlarged knowledge of the time. Great waves are a calamity only to weak swimmers. Strong swimmers are strengthened by them. The same billow that buries the one raises the other high aloft. The situation demands a different average reaction towards these new items of experience than that of the past. We cannot, even if we would quench the powers that have been loosened or blot out our lately acquired

science. Phoebus has acknowledged his paternity and has given us the reins of the sun steeds. We have started on our dangerous course and cannot turn back. We must summon the courage and presence of mind which Phaeton so fatally lacked and guide the chargers entrusted to us upon a beneficent journey.

Can we do so? I believe that we can. But only by the utmost diligence and the supremest effort. Force, in itself is neither benevolent nor malevolent. It is simply force. No force can be too great for wise hands to employ. Nothing can be destroyed by knowledge that is worth keeping.

I think that a historic comprehension of the unrest of the time should lead us to sobriety and should warn us against cheap and easy cures, but I do not believe that it should cause us to despair. When we lift our minds from the considerably tragic fashion in which mankind has utilized its new-found powers and knowledge, and contemplate these things in themselves, we can scarcely refrain from feeling in the present historic moment a mingled sense of joyous awe, exhilaration and gratitude. Now for the first time "since man began his education amongst the carnivores" he has at his disposal the physical basis for a universal civilization. He has multiplied his fingers, acquired tireless muscles of steel, spun nerves of electricity and can wring from nature an ample sustenance for all. At last the whole earth has been made one by quick communication. Confucius, Aeschylus, Gautama, Ezra and Nehemiah were contemporaries. Yet none knew the others save Ezra and Nehemiah. Such isolation need no longer be endured. The way is now open for a universal fellowship of thinkers, artists, worshippers. The strangest and most distant type of person and thought may now be found and tested. No power outside mankind now requires the persistence for another moment of the quenching of creative effort by gen-

eral poverty. Nothing has been learned concerning the nature of the universe and the ancient story of the race, no force has been made available to human use which might not serve to dignify, expand, enrich and free man's life on the earth.

Mankind has been showered with potential benefits. This child of the premonkeys has come to stand upright and to hold the world between his thumb and finger. But he is unhappy. He has got his toy and has grown tired of it. He mastered the world and then let the world master him. He has got tangled up in the string of his gigantic top, and is being whirled in its wake. He discovered forces which could free his children from material drudgery and then planned his cities to have little room for children. He got to a point where he had conquered leisure and found that he had maimed those tastes which could make leisure worth having. This needed not to be so. Those conditions which have been the causes of unhappy restlessness to men may equally well be causes of grace and the vigorous discontent of progress. Outward events are not causes of human activity in the same sense as the motion of one billard ball is the cause of motion in another. Circumstances are the occasion of conduct, the vehicle of action, in living organisms, not their invariable determinants. After an action has occurred it may be related to all the past and seems to be fixed and to have been inevitable. There is no proof possible, however, that at the moment of choice another course might not have been taken, which also would have fitted into the general scheme of reality and would have appeared predestined.

That men have flouted the kind fates, have starved spiritually in the midst of plenty, have taken a measure of unrest and strife from the circumstances of the age, does not necessitate that the future should follow their bad example, nor that we individually should embody their mistake.

To accept the challenge of the times, however is something far different from lifting up the eyes and drawing a few tremulous, sentimental breaths. It involves placing the entire personality behind a faith in the unfulfilled intellectual, aesthetic and ethical possibilities of oneself and one's fellow men. Mankind has actually been employing its new knowledge and power in large measure to its hurt. The stream of tendency can be turned only by gigantic effort. The deepest trends of the soul are for the enterprise, but a host of lesser desires and appetites and institutionalized prejudices are against it.

Nothing less must be attempted than to alter the common attitude of men towards themselves, towards other men and towards the world. The prime need of the day is new life, new standards of life. The unrest cannot be assuaged by the gold cure. The need is for sanity, simplicity, love, appreciation of beauty, personal consideration, family life, social intercourse, all infused with the ethical spirit. We are perishing of hunger for spiritual freedom and fellowship, and we think our unrest comes from want of more power and more things. Nothing is good if human relations are bad. Almost nothing is bad if human relations are good. They have got terribly tangled. They must be seen in a new light. Every department of life must be organized so as to provide for the proper human relations of the persons concerned. I must reverence in every other that which enables him to reverence the best in me.

How is this better attitude to be brought about? The greatest responsibility, I believe, rests with persons of exceptional gifts. "Not more surely does grass bend before the wind," says Confucius, "than the masses yield to the will of those above them." The strong, the capable, the outstanding men of the modern world have desperately failed to lead the masses into ways of sanity and health. How can

one pass a magnificent mansion without feeling a fierce and unquenchable emotion compounded of grief and wrath that the man who had the force and skill to amass the fortune represented in that huge pile should have had so little heart and spiritual discrimination as to fire the common man's passion for material luxury by indulging himself visibly in this hedonistic debauch? To K'i Kang, Confucius said, when he was consulted about the direction of the state, "A director should himself be correct. If you, sir, as a leader show correctness, who will dare not to be correct?" To the same man who, being troubled by robbers in his district, asked Confucius what he should do, the sage replied, "If you, sir, were not covetous, neither would they steal, even if you were to bribe them to do so." "If golde ruste," said Chaucer, "what shall iron do?"

Oh, for a few leaders of the leaders, men who will shame and lure and inspire the mighty into a realization of their infinite task. The churches of The Interchurch World Movement are raising \$300,000,000 and some of the leaders in the enterprise are calling it the greatest undertaking in the history of religion. To raise \$300,000,000 is not great. The nations have recently spent four hundred times that amount in war. It would be a great achievement for the churches to catch a new vision of man, to put into practice new standards down where men live and work, to change the spirit and human relations of industry where money is made, to stand against privilege and injustice, to raise every occupation to the dignity of a vocation, to make of education a gigantic attempt to quicken into life the highest possibilities of the rising generation, to organize religion on a basis of truth and ethical passion. This is a really great task. This challenges the noblest powers.

It involves, to be sure, a multitude of practical problems. How shall the awful desolation of automatic machine production be conquered? How shall

a just system of rewards for work be elaborated and applied? How shall great industrial plants be organized so as to promote the development of the men through self-government and co-operation? How shall the manhood and craftsmanship of the workers be advanced? How shall politics be freed from the party system and from the designs of selfish men? How can organized religion escape the dead hand of endowments? How may newspapers be made the channels of truth? How can the various races multiply without undue friction and misunderstanding?

The difficulties of these and a host of other practical problems should not be underestimated. The spirit in which they are attacked, however, is far more important than any specific machinery of settlement. The sick child does not need medicines, poultices, braces and bandages. It needs to be loved. Nothing at last can really contribute to a permanent improvement of social maladies save attempts based on men's reverence for the latent worth in man.

The need is for men and women of power who take a profound view of human nature and of human relations. It is not sufficient that they should fall into the current cant about the world being temporarily out of joint because of the war and requiring simply the setting of its dislocated bones. "A little adjustment here and there, a return to 'normal psychology and normal conditions,' a bit of reconstruction and the work will be done" is the pabulum upon which we are sometimes fed. The war, however, was a symptom of malady not its cause. Reconstruction is not the word. Civil-ization, moral-ization, spiritual-ization, ethical organ-ization are the words. For they embody a plan. They express a faith. And the world needs strong belief in the infinite preciousness of essential man. This faith can be communicated only by those who have it, by those who have gazed into the abyss without permitting the abyss to gaze so fixedly into them as to

hypnotize and absorb them, who have mined frustration and melted out its gold, who have discovered in pain something more than a device for biological protection, who have eaten their bread moistened with tears and found it nourishing, who are becoming worthy to know and to reverence the universe. Such are the leaders whom the times require.

A measure of scope, however, belongs to every person who is so far spiritually alive as to aspire. Each of us may ask himself searching questions. Do I embody the faults which afflict the world? Am I additional poison or antidote for the poison? Am I ashamed to consume the equivalent of more than I produce? Am I in the way of becoming the vulgar slave of that which my hands have made? Do I view material things as the artist regards his paints and the musician his violin, merely as helps to carry out a noble plan of life? Am I worthy to be termed a person? The greatest battle of everyone is that which goes on within himself. The first service we can render is to win this battle, to attain to spiritual selfhood. I do not mean that we should come to a place where all questions are settled. Ethical peace is not dogmatic or dull. It is a consciousness of integrity and right will. This we may have and this gives us a center of calm which is the beginning of service.

Those who thus strive are not the puppets of geography. They are fitted to embrace East and West. "Let the superior man keep watch over himself without ceasing," said Confucius, "showing deference to others, with propriety of manners—and all within the four seas will be his brethren. How shall he be distressed for lack of brothers?"

In this spirit, then, I believe should the present world unrest be faced. As much labor as has been expended on developing and utilizing the forces of nature must be consciously employed in finding and organizing the proper for-

ces of man. Mankind in common with other species evolved unconsciously for long milleniums. But man is now self-conscious. He may set himself tasks. He may entertain aims, and may utilize the powers of nature together with his own powers to chart and sail his course. He may co-operate in his own improvement. As men have set their minds upon getting to the Poles, upon winning great stakes in business, and reaching power in politics they should fix their

will upon the ethical organization and development of our race. The task will require more intelligence, more persistence, harder work, more imagination than any achievement of the age of steel. Tireless, fearless, patient, studious, tenacious, practical, balanced, envisioned,—such are the characteristics needed by those whom the times demand. Man must be weary and distraught till he gives his greatness right of way.

THE IRISH QUESTION

BY GEORGE E. O'DELL

I

The coalition government presided over by Mr. Lloyd George gave to Great Britain a maximum of national unity during the recent war. But no body could well be less fitted to devise a satisfactory measure for Irish pacification.

For its chief members took on the personalities by which they are still known, either before or during the South African struggle of twenty years ago. In that unseemly scramble for gold and diamonds, some of them, like Lord Milner, Lord Curzon, and Mr. Austen Chamberlain, were imperialists as nearly of the blood-and-iron order as the English temperament (with its love of fair play) will allow. Others, like Mr. Lloyd George, made war on the war, and, having staked their lives and their political careers in doing so, were the men trusted by an England later awakened to the truth, to engineer the settlement of the South African situation. They settled it (as everybody knows) by setting up the democracy for which the gold-and-diamond men had professedly quarrelled with the Boers, turning it however into a means for their joint chasten-

ing. The various South African colonies being unified much after the pattern of the United States, the first election conducted under manhood suffrage gave the Hollanders predominance over the British, and brought the erstwhile Boer commander-in-chief into office as prime minister of the newly federated States.

Were such a government as "cleaned up" South Africa after 1906 now at Downing Street, Mr. Lloyd George would almost certainly be asking Britain to show the same sort of shrewd magnanimity to Ireland. But he has elected to remain head of a cabinet—and in England the cabinet rules—which includes the men whom he fought and overthrew, because of their jingo imperialism, in 1905-1906; presumably dreaming that they need him and his immediate following in the country too much to refuse a democratic leavening at his hands. But if the new Home Rule measure is any guide, the gold-and-diamond, blood-and-iron men are past any leavening whatever.

The generous way out of the Irish embroglio, now that the passions of the war are beginning to lapse, would seem plain enough. Hope deferred

for generations had produced Sinn Fein. The hanging-up of the Home Rule statute actually signed by the King, in 1914, had produced that infuriated gesture, the Irish Republic. And men even so utterly reasonable as Francis Hackett had accepted the gesture as one that could not be withdrawn. But Lord Plunkett coming from Unionism, and Stephen Gwynn from Nationalism, were driven by it, with many others, onto a middle ground. They declared for the South African solution. They urged the offer of a dominion government of federated provinces, virtually independent though within the commonwealth of British states. For this they were convinced the mass of Irishmen outside Ulster, and many within it, would vote. Sinn Fein would be reduced to its true strength, doubtless considerable but not so great as to command a majority. And Ulster would be just as much and as little of a problem as French Quebec in the federated Dominion of Canada.

It was a great opportunity. There appears, indeed, only one reasonable and honorable alternative to it—suggested, if I remember rightly, by the *New Statesman*—the daring but intelligent plan of withdrawing all British troops and police from Ireland and letting North and South make terms with each other. Doubtless negotiation would be at the point of the sword; but Ireland is just now too prosperous (for only the second brief period in its history) for Irishmen to waste time for long in merely fighting one another. Unlike English and Americans, the great mass of "improvident" Irish have been using the period of steady employment to start little bank accounts—they actually have about a hundred dollars each all round!—and bank accounts are a sobering influence. For the same reason, the Irish would almost certainly

have accepted full dominion government.

But full dominion government implies a variety of liberties and appeals to national self-respect such as are conspicuously withheld in the new bill. The bill is a mass of timidities. It was Mr. Balfour who asked contemptuously during the discussion of the previous act whether anyone supposed that the decentralised government of the thirty-eight States ("It is thirty-eight, is it not?" he asked!) of the American Union made for strength. The new bill reeks of Mr. Balfour, with its aristocratic distrust of the people—of Ireland.

II

Mr. Lloyd George himself, in introducing the bill, was guilty of a reference to America even less fortunate than Mr. Balfour's although it lacked Mr. Balfour's tone of imperialistic hauteur. For, he said, the British Government would fight Irish secession exactly as the Northern States fought the Southern seceders, and for the same reasons. Mr. Lloyd George had seemingly forgotten that each and all of the Southern States relinquished their separateness and entered the Union of their own free-will, and in accordance with the wish of the majority of their people. The outstanding facts as to the union between Great Britain and Ireland are exactly to the contrary. It is not only that the Irish people were subjugated by force, and subjected to banishment and colonization of their lands over and over again; but they have never in five hundred years "bowed to the inevitable;" they have absorbed and Hibernicised every colonization except for half of Ulster. And the final act of union, which (it must be remembered) was passed within the lifetime of America's present "oldest living inhabitant" was secured from a parliament in Ireland which, although it consisted mainly

of landlord descendants of colonized Englishmen could be got to accept it only when a majority was secured by buying votes, the bribes running to as much as a hundred thousand dollars apiece. The people were against it.

The various Home Rule bills which have passed the House of Commons—all to be killed later by the House of Lords, except that of 1914—have never had a majority of English votes. The minority had to be swelled not only by Irish votes, but by the mass of Scottish and Welsh votes as well. Nothing could be more profoundly significant than the persistent support of Scotland and Wales. For Scotland does not ask for Home Rule for herself, however good it might be for her; and Wales did not think of it until Mr. Lloyd George threatened a Welsh Home Rule movement if the English Church in Wales were not disestablished, as recently it has at last been. The reasons are not far to seek. Welsh subjugation is ancient history, long accepted and forgotten; Welsh religion is Protestant and was never for long periods proscribed; Wales never suffered the outrage of "plantation" by an alien stock. Scottish union was secured (a century before Irish union) by dignified negotiation, and Scotland was left her own State religion and her own courts and code of laws. Both Scotland and Wales are profoundly anti-Catholic. But they are detached enough in their judgment to be able to see that the stings of Catholicism are only sharpened by oppression; and that wherever Catholic populations gain democratic self-government and responsibility, Rome presently loses the possession of any other than a spiritual power.

One cannot imagine the Scottish and Welsh members of the House of Commons to be guilty of the political ineptitude whereby, instead of historic Ulster being treated as a unit

in the federation proposed under the new bill, six counties are arbitrarily isolated, as being mainly Protestant. If there be any educational virtue in democracy, surely no experiment could be wiser than to set up a government for all Ulster, with its slight Protestant majority, and to allow the opposed factions, in the exigencies of responsible government, to learn the art of political compromise and the virtue of mutual respect.

III

It was M. Escoffaire, a French publicist, who, after examining the Irish problem, wrote: "Does not the very fact that the British have succeeded everywhere else show that they are not primarily responsible for the muddle?" A most shrewd remark, and one that common justice to England would make anyone wish to answer understandingly. For the world owes a great debt to England's tradition of liberalism, and her gift for establishing clean government wherever she goes. Even if Irish government has been unclean, it has been with the assilment of misunderstanding and religious antipathy, and not with that of venality. But the historic record of English statecraft in Ireland is unmistakable—it has been a record of inability, the universal and eternal inability, of any one white people to govern any other, except by consent and a magnanimous respect for all differences in the governed. And where these two requirements are present, there will presently either be virtual fusion, as within Great Britain itself, or a decentralization by consent such as Ireland has never had the chance to accept.

For (as M. Escoffaire should have finally seen) where England has been successful in dealing with the problem of governing other white populations it has been by the exercise of

a political wit that knew when to give the problem up. She gave it up in Canada—where the provincials of Quebec had taken to agrarian terrorization precisely of the kinds which in Ireland have forced from England each installment of betterment given in recent times. She gave it up in South Africa, and let the religious and economic animosities of Briton and Boer work out their own conclusions. She lost the American colonies through not giving the problem up, and she cannot yet bring herself to giving it up in Ireland. But in the end she must.

Government of one white people by another, without consent of the governed, demoralizes both. And especially the ruled, because they are more persistently conscious of the situation. Every true charge that can be brought against the Irish character—and there are true charges enough—is evidence to this effect. Above all things, the Irish have never, as a people, grown up, and their individuals constantly show the marks of national immaturity. Ireland has had no incentive to be other than child-like—and she has shown the petty dangerousness of a child. Self-government must mean for Ireland a growing-up time—a very bitter growing-up time, full of pains and grievances and awkwardnesses; heaven send that the rest of the world do not jeer at her adolescent inexpertness and follies, when these come!

But there is another reason to be adduced in answer to M. Escoffaire. Why, if England has had the gracious wisdom to give up the problem of government in the case of one or another of her dominions, should it be Ireland only that she persists in offering measures tinctured with utter distrust! Why could she trust those ham-stringing French Canadians in Quebec, and those uncouth Boers on the veldt, to try their hand at government with a republican

measure of freedom; but Ireland must still be tied to many apron-strings? I will venture an unaccustomed answer; but it is probably a correct one. The English *know* the Irish; but they do not know except by hearsay, and the reports of a handful of soldiers who have fought them, Jack Canuck or the South African Dutch. And it is sometimes easier (after all) to love someone whom we have not seen, than our brother whom we have seen and whose faults we know better than our own. The bitterness shown by English and Irish in judging each other is like the bitterness of members of one family who have permanently "fallen out"—and there is no abiding bitterness deeper than that. If we British folk had rubbed shoulders with Canadian French and Boers as familiarly as with the Irish, I suspect we would have had the same misgivings about letting them loose from our governmental grip.

IV

There remains, even before closing so cursory a paper as this, the need of a word as to the military aspect of the matter. "Ireland is the Achilles heel of England." Therefore she cannot be allowed the sovereign right accorded to all the British dominions of sharing or not sharing in Britain's wars, and of raising her own militia, or raising none, as she pleases. And she is asked to continue paying a heavy quatum (the greater part of the revenue she has already been used to raise) to England to help provide armaments for their joint protection. Doubtless she is to have the enforced compensation of continued representation in the British Parliament—with all the privilege of meddling as hitherto in all the affairs great and small of England, Scotland and Wales. But what could be more anomalous, or a better instance of compromise gone mad?

Ireland is to have a sort of self-

government—subject to remaining a British fortress! Germany would doubtless have willingly set up a sort of self-government in Alsace-Lorraine rather than lose Strasburg and Metz. Nevertheless she has lost them beyond hope of return. That Alsace-Lorraine was a supreme defence against France, was her original reason, in 1870-1871, for taking it. But the world has begun to think differently about military necessities of that kind. It would be more in accord with the new spirit, which denies that great tracts and populations may be held against their will because of military exigencies, were Ireland to become another Belgium; liable to be overrun, yes; but faithful to her independence, and hatching no chancellery plots in favor of any power. And Catholic too; but with a Catholicism slowly achieving salvation from the bigoted past.

Such in the event would probably be a republicanised Ireland. With

the difference that a common language is in the end the greatest means towards peace between peoples—and given independence the Gaelic speakers would probably for the most part be content with English, and throw their archaic grammars into the dust-bin. But it has yet to be seen whether secession is inevitable, and the civil war that Mr. Lloyd George has promised to follow it. Mr. Lloyd George's notorious all-Ireland conference lacked one thing—the courage to take a vote of all Ireland itself. If the next British Government be a genuinely liberal one—and it most likely will—it may yet have that courage to present a choice between Canadian Home Rule and separation. I believe that almost certainly Sinn Fein would be beaten. It could take its beating with at least an appearance of grace; for it would have its republic in fact, though not in name, even if the vote went against it.

AN ENGINEER'S "ACID TEST" OF PATRIOTISM*

BY GUIDO MARX

I have yielded to the urgent invitation to speak to you today only because I felt that the opportunity to say a few words in interpretation of an engineer's point of view might not be without profitable mutual reactions. One of our thoughtful Stanford students once said to me that she found psychology a science that made the wonderful things commonplace and the commonplace things wonderful. Sophisticated man lives so much in a realm of generally accepted make-believe that it is worth our while sometimes to try to get

back to elementary realities.

There is a good deal of misconception as to what engineering really is. In the first place, it is a profession and not a trade. And the distinguishing characteristic of a profession is that it is "a vocation in which a knowledge of some department of science or learning is used by its practical application to the affairs of others, either in advising, guiding, or teaching them or in serving their interests or welfare in the practice of an art founded on it. The word 'profession' implies attainment in special knowledge, and an application of such knowledge to uses for others as a vocation, as distinguished from its pursuit for one's own purposes." We

*A paper read before the New York Society for Ethical Culture, Sunday, February 22, 1920. Mr. Marx is Professor of Engineering at Leland Stanford University.

may note that last sentence. It is the *service* characteristic which makes a profession out of a vocation.

As President Hadley once phrased this: "It is not enough to know the special sciences on which the practice of a profession is based. A man ought to have a clear conception of the public service on which his profession is based; a man ought to have a clear conception of the public service which his profession can render and the public duty which its members owe. Thus, and thus only, can the engineer, the lawyer, the physician, or member of any other learned profession rise to the dignity of his calling."

Now, in a broad way engineering may be defined as the art of devising, creating, or operating works employing the resources of nature for the use and convenience of man. The engineer's professional opportunity and duty arise out of his being, in a sense, the custodian of these natural resources.

Our modern social structure rests in a great measure upon the use of mechanical devices in industry and transportation, and fundamentally, the economical quantitative production and distribution of goods, which is its distinguishing characteristic, is an engineering problem. Inasmuch as the main purpose of industry is the satisfaction of human needs, the control and management of the natural resources and mechanical processes involved in the production of the finished products is a social problem. The engineer considers, then, as one of them has put it, that "in its broader aspects engineering must relate and equate the thing to be done to the social relations and conditions it aims to benefit."

This leads him into what I may characterize as his quarrel with society, a quarrel which arises out of the fact that the engineer has but one enemy—and that is *Waste*. The

problem of our wasteful use of goods, growing out of accepted customs of conspicuous expenditure and competitive ostentation, he must leave for others, but it is a burden which the engineer is called upon to bear in increasing measure as the demand comes for more production and still more. Since it is the function of the engineer to introduce and make effective the methods of science and the control by conscious intelligence in the domain of industry, he may yet feel called upon to insist that this demand be more critically examined and finally subjected to a regulation on the basis of rational need. It would appear that our development of the technique of production has vastly outrun our rationalization of distribution.

Modern society is dominated by the business habit of thought and tends to weigh all things in the scales of pecuniary profit and loss. Now, the engineer with vision has a different standard of value, as I have already hinted. Real wealth to him lies in the resources of nature,—the water power, the coal, the iron, productive labor; and he conceives that he has a sort of professional stewardship over these. He considers their waste a loss—a social loss—no matter how great a pecuniary profit there may be for some individual in the transaction. Mr. Vanderlip recently said that England had maintained her industrial position by means of a differential on labor. We maintain ours by a differential on resources. Some years ago, in crossing the ocean, I fell into conversation with a fellow traveller who said: "You Americans think that it is your superior ingenuity and skill that account for your industrial prosperity. It isn't. It is your vast wealth of natural resources, and you are squandering it like spend-thrifts." He was at least partly right!

The general public is more aware

of the forest devastation problem than any other concerning our resources. Yet, though the agitation for a wise and adequate forest policy began in the country as far back as 1873, "the present timber deficit having been long foreseen and effort to meet it not lacking, the seriousness of the timber situation is but little appreciated." A recent report made to the American Society of Foresters calls attention to the fact that "the beginning of the timber shortage is already here. We are consuming three times more wood than we are producing. As with any other crop, wood cannot be consumed faster than it is produced without exhausting the supply. At the present rate our saw-log timber will be gone in about fifty years. Since it requires at least that length of time to mature a timber crop the necessity for action is obvious. The present situation has developed out of the existing practice of lumbering, which is based on the careless assumption that 'we have timber enough to last us.' Under past and present lumbering practice mature crops of native timber have been harvested wholly without regard to succeeding crops. Inadequate or no provision has been made for the starting of new forest growth, for protecting it from the fires which follow lumbering, or for the care of young timber. As a result, lands which have been at work century after century, producing forests which have maintained and renewed themselves without care or cost, are transformed by the lumbering into non-productive wastes of blackened stumps and bleaching snags. Within the United States, forests having more than three times the area of Pennsylvania have already been devastated. Lumbering, of course, must continue; forest devastation should stop." To all of which we may say, "Amen." This is only one field, and the least important to the engineer in

a direct way, in which current pecuniary interests and standards run counter to the long-time welfare of society.

An even more glaring example comes to my mind. I refer to the gold-dredging process as carried out in California and elsewhere. I have seen the immense dredges at work, with their continuous chain of buckets literally devouring arable land and leaving behind them nothing but great hills of bare cobbles. No more desolate sight could be imagined. My standards may be utterly at fault, but to my mind the actual destruction of the productive surface of the earth is a crime against posterity not to be atoned for by the addition of a little metallic gold to the world's supply.

However, it was particularly to the power question that I wished to direct your thoughts for a few moments, since this is one of the fundamental professional concerns of the engineer. The problem is immensely complex and the factors so interrelated that I can only touch upon some of the outstanding features. In the first place, the demands of modern industry call for the use of energies lying far beyond man's muscular capacity. The two chief sources which he has learned to harness and place under his subjection for this purpose are water power and the heat energy lying dormant in fuels. There is one great basic difference between these two sources of power. Water power, in a sense, renews itself. Fuel does not.

The real source of water power is the heat energy of the sun. Because of this, water is evaporated from the earth's surface and lifted far above it. It becomes condensed and is precipitated upon high, elevated land. From there a certain part of it runs into the water-courses and, through these, to lower and lower levels, ending at the sea. In this journey, be-

cause of its mass and the differences in elevation, some of the energy which was expended by the sun in lifting it can be won from it for human use by means of water wheels and turbines. The water itself, of course, goes on its journey. It does not go out of existence. It repeats the cycle indefinitely. The only thing that is diminished is the heat energy of the sun, and that would be the case whether we made use of the water for power purposes or not.

Water, then, represents the socially ideal source of power to the extent that it is available, since its employment in nowise diminishes the resources of the earth. We take nothing from posterity in its full use. And yet, for reasons which have their chief root in our pecuniary standard of measurement, we allow the major portion of this power to run to waste. The estimates of our undeveloped water power resources are little more than guesses and they range from a minimum of thirty million to a maximum of two hundred million horse power, depending upon differences of assumptions which I need not enter into. Even the lower figure is only about equivalent to our present total industrial power use and represents a potentiality of working power of something like from six to seven hundred million men. That is a rather large waste.

• But that is not all of the story. Our present chief source of industrial power is bituminous coal. We have a vast supply of this fuel to be sure, but it has taken geologic ages to form it and it is in no practical sense a replaceable crop. What we use up is gone for all time. We consume between five and six hundred million tons of bituminous coal per year at present. The rate of consumption is, of course, an increasing one. About one-third is used for the development of power, and one-third for transportation, another phase of

power use. The remaining third is about equally divided between other industrial and domestic uses. Our coal represents about one-third of our freight. Its shipment, therefore, places a heavy burden upon the very transportation system which it feeds.

Most of the power developed from coal is generated by use of the boiler and steam engine, a process which in only the best installations reaches as high as a fifteen per cent utilization of the potential heat value of the fuel. By converting the coal into gas and utilizing internal combustion engines, the necessary consumption could be halved. Moreover, a most valuable series of by-products, which it is folly to use as fuel, could be recovered and utilized. Supplementing the freer use of hydro-electric stations, gas plants developing electric power by means of the use of internal combustion engines could be installed at or near the mines. This power could be used for industrial and transportation purposes since it lends itself readily to distribution over considerable distances.

All of these things are matters of commonplace knowledge to the engineer. Why then do we allow such a state of affairs? It is largely a matter of habit, of vested interests, and of thinking in short-time pecuniary terms rather than in terms of the realities involved. Why, at the very outset the coal is frequently wastefully mined, because the underlying purpose may not be so much to take out the greatest amount as to get the greatest money return.

The thought I would like to leave with you amounts merely to this: making money is not at all synonymous with creating wealth. In fact it would appear to be possible that money can be made most rapidly by the destruction of wealth. But, furthermore, that nation may longest persist and prosper most, which, having an abundance of natural re-

sources, works out a completely co-ordinated plan for their rational development with a view to their most adequate and long-time use.

Does it not seem wise that we

should bestir ourselves to work out such a plan in this, our country? This might be advanced as at least one engineer's "acid test" of patriotism.

THE ETHICAL CULTURE MOVEMENT

Philadelphia Celebration

On Easter Sunday in 1885, the first lecture under the auspices of the Ethical Movement was given in Philadelphia, and the enrollment then began of those who a few weeks later organized the Philadelphia Society for Ethical Culture. The founder of the Society, who has been its director through thirty-five years, was Mr. S. Burns Weston. The anniversary will be celebrated, not only by the members of the Philadelphia organization, but by the American Ethical Societies as a whole, whose annual conference will be held in Philadelphia from May 13th to 16th. The occasion promises to be one of more than usual interest.

Conference Program

The advance program for the Philadelphia meetings provides for a "Settlement Institute" on Thursday, May 13th. This will involve a conference of those who are concerned in the work of the Philadelphia settlements, including Southwark House, which is affiliated with the Philadelphia Society. Dr. John L. Elliott, who as President of the National Settlement Federation has assisted in conducting similar institutes in other cities, will lead the discussion of neighborhood house problems. Interested members of the Ethical Societies and delegates to the annual meeting of the American Ethical Union are invited to attend.

A conference of the leaders of the Ethical Societies will be held on the same evening.

The business meeting of the Union will take place at the Philadelphia Society House on the morning of May 14th. The following matters of special business are to be considered: The preparation of a new statement of aims for the Union; the editing of a new book of responses and songs for Sunday meetings; the training of young men for Ethical leadership.

A further matter of importance to be discussed is the situation in the European Ethical Societies. Advices recently re-

ceived from abroad indicate that it is not feasible to hold a conference in Europe this summer. It is hoped that it may be possible, however, for Dr. Elliott to go over, as a friendly messenger of the American Societies, and confer with the leaders in England and on the Continent. Later on, it is possible that some of the European leaders may be able to visit America.

Following a luncheon given by the Women's Club of the Philadelphia Society, the afternoon of May 14th will be devoted to reports from the delegates, covering the work which the various groups within the Societies have carried on this season. It is expected that these reports will point the way to forward-looking joint enterprises to be conducted by the Societies next year, including such undertakings as public forums, Sunday evening meetings, foreign races conferences, and industrial groups.

On the following morning, Saturday, May 15th, it is expected that a special meeting will be called for the discussion of the topic: "Home, School and Religious Society: Their Contribution to the Moral Development of the Young." The speakers are expected to include a representative of the University of Pennsylvania, certain of the Ethical leaders and others.

The balance of the program has to do mainly with the anniversary celebration. On the afternoon of the 15th there is to be either a motor trip to Valley Forge, or sight-seeing excursions to other points of historic interest. The Anniversary dinner will be held at the City Club that evening, with short addresses by prominent citizens of Philadelphia and others.

At the Broad Street Theater on Sunday morning, May 16th, the speakers will include Mr. Weston, Dr. Adler, and Mr. William M. Salter, who was for several years connected with the Society as a lecturer. On Sunday afternoon, the children of the Ethical Sunday School and of the Southwark Neighborhood House will give an entertainment.

Executive Committee Appointed

All of the Ethical Societies expect to send delegates to the conference, and in addition it is hoped that there will be a considerable number of visitors from the Societies in Philadelphia and neighboring cities. So far as they have been appointed, the members of the new Executive Committee of the American Ethical Union, whose presence at the Conference is expected, are: Mrs. Samuel S. Fels and Dr. Albert P. Brubaker, of Philadelphia; Messrs. Alexander M. Bing and Robert D. Kohn, of New York; Mrs. Franklin R. Davenport and Mr. Ralph Jonas, of Brooklyn, Mrs. George Gellhorn and Mr. Rudolph Schmitz, Sr., of St. Louis.

Midsummer "Standard"

In accordance with the practice inaugurated last year, THE STANDARD is to issue a "Midsummer Number" in July, and this issue will contain a report of the Philadelphia Conference proceedings.

Mothers' Co-Operative Home Club

An error was made in the account which was given in the April STANDARD of the establishment of the Mothers' Co-Operative Home Club. This interesting experiment is being undertaken by a committee of women which was specially organized for the purpose. The officers are: Mrs. Simon Frankel, President; Mrs. Julius J. Frank, Vice-President; Mrs. A. M. Marks and Mrs. M. W. Feingold, Secretaries; and Mrs. Lionel Sutro, Treasurer.

The Club, which is located at 60 West Ninety-Second Street, New York City, is enabling a number of working mothers who have been deserted, widowed or divorced, to earn their living and at the same time make their home with their children. During the daytime, when the mothers are at work, the children are supervised by trained workers under the direction of the Federation for Child Study. The plan contemplates the co-operation of a number of schools, whose students are to do field work at the home.

The Summer Play Schools

The Child Welfare Division of the Federal Government has urged that the summer play schools be continued, and the Central Committee of the New York Society is now endeavoring to make the members and friends of the Society realize the really valuable and original example which these schools set to the whole country.

It is likely that there will be schools at such other centers as the Hudson Guild, but it has been definitely decided that a play school for the children of the neighborhood will be conducted again this summer in the Ethical Culture School building. It is hoped that this school will be of special value as a model in all respects. The number of children will depend on the amount of money contributed, but there will not be less than 200. The Federation for Child Study is already asking for volunteers for this summer work.

Attend New Orleans Meetings

Both Dr. Adler and Dr. Elliott went to New Orleans in April to attend meetings which were held in conjunction with the National Conference of Social Work. Dr. Adler, who is Chairman of the National Child Labor Committee, spoke before that organization on "The Neglected Children of the Farm," and Dr. Elliott addressed meetings of the National Federation of Settlements.

"Community Dinners"

The Brooklyn Society instituted at its Society House on Sunday, April 18th, the first of a series of "community dinners" for those who, because of attendance at the Sunday morning lectures in the Academy of Music, are prevented from preparing dinner at home. The children who attend the Sunday School are cared for during the lecture.

The board of trustees of the Society has recommended the engagement of a director of social work to look after some of the growing activities of the Society.

May Festival Preparations

The St. Louis Society is making special plans for its annual May Festival. A committee is at work beautifying the Sheldon Memorial Garden to which the various groups have contributed trees and shrubs. The Young People's Association has set out two trees in memory of one of its members who was lost in the war, and these will be dedicated with fitting ceremonies.

The Association began in April its Sunday afternoon rambles in the beautiful country about St. Louis. On these occasions, nature study is combined with the joys of picnicking and hiking.

Mr. Bridges, of Chicago, and Mr. Martin, of New York, were the visiting speakers before the St. Louis Society during the month of April. Mr. Chubb exchanged platforms with Mr. Bridges on the 18th.

D. S. H.

WHEN DUTIES CONFLICT, HOW TO DECIDE*

BY FELIX ADLER

In announcing "When Duties Conflict, How to Decide" as my subject, I used a current phrase. I must begin by at least giving it greater precision. Duty is that which ought to be done at a given time, in a given situation. Duties, therefore, cannot really conflict. To say they can would be to declare that a thing ought to be done and ought not to be done at the same time and in the same situation, which is absurd. What we really mean is that there is a conflict in our mind as to what the duty is. Opposing views present themselves, we are drawn in different directions, and generally the idea of what ought to be done if the situation were different obscures our vision as to what ought to be done the situation being what it is.

At the same time, it cannot be denied that the conscience is often in sore straits, and we certainly need more light. I do not presume to unravel all the tangled problems that come up in connection with my subject, but shall endeavor to work out a number of main points of view that may be helpful to us in arriving at decisions.

First let me clear the field by insisting on those cases where there is or ought to be no uncertainty whatever, those cases in which the voice of duty speaks unequivocally, where there is a certain absoluteness in its mandate, where we are not left to the doubtful expedient of calculating consequences, but are able to determine our action on the ground of incontestable, universal principles.

A case of this kind is brought home to one in reading Maeterlinck's *Monna Vanna*. The problem he presents in this play is one not likely to occur in actual life, but is posed for the purpose

of accentuating a certain doctrine. The situation, as described, briefly is this. The city of Pisa has for some time been besieged, and is now reduced to the last extremity. The citizens are starving, and the fatal assault may be expected at any moment. At this time, the commander of the besieging force unexpectedly offers peace and safety to the city on one incredible condition, namely, that the pure wife of the governor of the city of Pisa shall sacrifice her virtue to his passion. The outcome is managed with the consummate art of the poet. The strain on the feelings of the reader is presently relaxed. The monster turns out to be a boy lover of Monna Vanna, the innocence of both is preserved, and the plot then slips over into a second plot, with which we are not concerned.

The problem as put by Maeterlinck is—which should weigh more in the balance, the happiness of thousands of human beings, citizens of Pisa, or the happiness of one woman? And Monna Vanna is extolled as a noble heroine because she is ready to sacrifice her happiness to that of her fellow citizens. The problem, however, is falsely stated. It is not the happiness of one human being against the happiness of a multitude that is at stake; it is the honor of a woman against the temporal good of a multitude. And here to my mind there can be but one answer: the honor of a woman is not to be violated, no matter what the temporal consequences,—not even if the consequences be the destruction of the city; not even if they be, as is subtly argued in the play, outrage on a more extensive scale done to others of her sex, if Monna Vanna refuses and the town is sacked. What the victims endure against their will, however atrocious and hideous, is one thing; what is deliberately consented to

* An address delivered before the New York Society for Ethical Culture, Sunday, January 11, 1920.

is another matter. The magistrates of the city are unwilling to take the responsibility upon themselves. Cowards, they put it upon the woman to decide, and she does decide in accordance with Maeterlinck's philosophy. It is a case in which, on the contrary, the deliverance of conscience should be entirely clear. A city that is willing to purchase its existence by such disgraceful means is a city like Sodom that deserves to be wiped off the face of the earth. To sacrifice this woman, to permit her to sacrifice herself, is to deny that she is a moral being. A moral being is one who may not be used as a thing, as a tool, as an instrument for the baser passions of another; is one to be revered, to remain unprofaned. There are many things done in the world contrary to this primary moral principle; many things that ought never to be done are done from weakness, blind desire, or cruel selfishness; but for a community deliberately to sanction the doing of such things is to declare itself outside the moral pale, to strip itself in effect of that higher character that raises men above the brute.

In every case where one line of conduct implies that we are to treat others or ourselves as things, as mere instruments, and another line of conduct is prescribed by the exalted idea that man is a being that has imperishable worth on his own account, in every such case there is no possible conflict, the path of duty is plainly marked out beyond peradventure.

A similar situation came to light at the time of the Dreyfus affair in France. An innocent man had been falsely accused, and condemned amid every circumstance that could add to his humiliation, and then sent to linger in prison on Devil's Island. He was the victim, as it afterwards turned out, of a diabolical plot. After some years the strands of this plot were one by one unraveled, and the man's innocence became more and more evident. And yet there were those who said, "Granted

that Dreyfus is innocent, why should all France be disturbed on his account? Why weigh the innocence of one man against the happiness of millions of Frenchmen?" Fortunately, the contrary opinion prevailed. It was one of those cases in which the maxim applies: Let justice be done though the heavens fall! the truth being that the heavens will not fall. On the contrary, justice is the pillar on which the heavens rest. France morally purified herself in the ordeal of the Dreyfus case.

Now I have taken the first step, I have been able to make one definite pronouncement. Certain things may *not* be done, (mark the "not," the negative), no matter what the ensuing consequence. It is not necessary for us to pay attention to the consequences; we need not be overawed by them, no matter how they are represented to us. Certain things are not to be done. A woman's soul may not be sold. An innocent man may not be knowingly dealt with as if guilty. Right may not be twisted into wrong.

The prohibitions are the easiest part of any moral code, such as we have in the Decalogue: Thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not steal; thou shalt not commit adultery; thou shalt not swear falsely; thou shalt not covet, etc. About what we ought to refrain from doing there is, in the main, certainty. In this regard the moral law is like a wall. We come up against a wall, and any farther advance in that direction is blocked. But it is different when we come to a crossroads, where the paths divide and we seek to know which of the alternative paths we shall pursue. Negatively I am enlightened. But when I want to be positively enlightened, when I want to know what I shall do, whence am I to get light?

The guiding principle in the first set of circumstances was—the higher nature of man must simply not be sacrificed to the lower, at no time, under no circumstances. Is there a guiding

principle to help us to positive decisions? One such principle I find in the idea of vocational service, and I will illustrate what I mean by an example. A young married woman finds herself divided in mind between the desire to continue her self-development and her love for her children. Is not further self-development a duty? especially if a woman has the artistic gift, and has already made some progress in training herself for artistic achievement? On the other hand, does she not owe a duty to her children, and have we not here a genuine case of conflict of duties? But the idea of vocational service may help us to a decision.

That motherhood is a true vocation requiring preparation, continued study, and like every other career, assiduous attention, no one will nowadays deny. Now no one, save an exceptional genius, can follow two vocations. If, standing at the crossroads, you have chosen the one path, along that path your future is marked out for you. There is no real conflict of duties here. You are perplexed because you are thinking of what would have been your duty if your situation had been other than it is, if you had remained unmarried. Then it would have been your duty to surrender yourself to the career of an artist with all the devotion which such a career requires. At present you wish to eat your cake and keep it too. You find two tendencies in yourself: the one an aspiration toward artistic performance, the other toward that other art of fostering and cherishing undeveloped human beings into beauty and excellence. Between these two tendencies you must decide. This does not mean wholly forsaking the one but subordinating it, giving to the other sovereign place. And the principle that every human being should have a vocation, and that the self must be expressed in some form of vocational service, determines the line of conduct of everyone. The development of one's personality is a duty for women as for men, and developing

personality means quickening one's powers with a view to actuating them in some distinctive kind of service.

I may mention another example. The art of medicine, a gifted physician tells me, is still largely empirical, groping, haphazard. He too, discovers two tendencies in his nature, the one toward pure research with a view to advancing the science of medicine, the other toward human helpfulness. "Ah," he says, "if I could only devote myself entirely to investigating the causes of disease by the strictly scientific method, then eventually I might be in a position to satisfy my intelligence and my conscience in dealing with my patients." Nevertheless, the immediate claims of life are exigent. The doctor's knowledge may not be as extensive as he could wish, his art may be far from perfect, but such as it is there is a crying demand for it. Shall his patients perish while he and the other members of his profession are experimenting in their laboratories? He must indeed do his utmost to keep abreast of the advances of his science. He may also no doubt contribute, in minor ways, but he has got to choose one career, one vocation. He cannot be a pure scientist and a practitioner at the same time.

The same, as I have said, is true of married women. Shall the children be neglected while the mothers spend their time in the art schools or music schools? Whatever they can do to increase their intellectual and aesthetic equipment is so much gain for themselves and for their children as well. But the claims of their own peculiar vocation take precedence. They have chosen it and must abide by it. It may be granted that there are exceptional situations, as when a woman physician marries a physician, or as when a married woman is also a teacher, the two vocations being allied to that of the mother, in which case some kind of compromise between the claims of the profession and child-rearing is conceivable. But even in these cases there is room for

serious doubt, and on the whole I should be disposed to stand by the main proposition, namely, that it is not possible for either a man or a woman to follow two careers, and that consideration for the one that is selected resolves the apparent conflict of duties.

I come next to speak of the "conflict" that arises when a son considers how far he is in duty bound to defer to the will of a parent in matters in which his own future is at stake. I have in mind a filial son—one who does not lightly regard the filial ties, one who realizes the gratitude due to father and mother. For instance, shall a youth who is offered the opportunity of a higher education take advantage of it if his parents are opposed? This is not an imaginary situation, but of quite frequent occurrence. If the parents are old, or otherwise incapacitated, if he is the sole or chief breadwinner upon whom the family depends for support, I do not see that there can be any doubt. To leave helpless those who took care of him when he was helpless, would be the rankest kind of unthankfulness. It would be an offense against that primary moral law mentioned by me in the beginning, namely, that no human being should be used merely as an instrument for the ends of others. To use parents as long as one needs them, and to cast them off, leaving them to shift for themselves when one no longer needs them, is to treat them like things, to act like Lear's children and to deserve the same malediction.

But the circumstances may be quite different; the parents may object to a son or daughter's resolve for quite unworthy reasons. They may have low, money-making ambitions for their children. They may sneer at higher education or, to take the case of marriage, they may object because of some narrow prejudice. Under such and similar circumstances, the decision depends first upon the age of the young person. Has he reached the age of discretion? It depends on the basis he has for his

assurance that he is taking the right step. Moreover, sufficient time must always be allowed to elapse, and every effort made to win over the parents to a different view. They have a right to be consulted in the important decisions of their offspring. And yet there finally comes a time when the son or daughter, being of age, has not only the right but the duty to take matters into his or her own hands. And this again on the ground of service, for every one can render the most genuine service, can express himself best in that line of service to which his individuality points. And even in the selection of a partner in marriage, this consideration holds good. For, as I have shown in a previous address, the relation between a man and woman in marriage is that of two for the sake of many, a relation of mutual quickening and furthering with a view to promoting the highest fitness of each to render his life service.

I turn next to another strait of conscience in which once more the service principle is indispensable to set one right. Ever since I could think at all I have been troubled like many others by the inequality with which this world's goods are distributed among mankind. And I have never been able to gain peace of mind by contributing what little I can toward remedying this inequality with the idea that eventually things will be different and there will be a world in which one can live without moral pain. I have kept asking myself, "What is it your duty to do now, before, in the slow procession of years, things will be different?" "Why should I not," I asked, "according to the word of Jesus, go and give all that I have to the poor?" Some say that if I did this I should be adding only a feather's weight to the income of the majority, scarcely improving their condition at all, while deteriorating my own. But I do not know about that. I might reduce myself, so far as material possessions go, to the level of the commonest unskilled laborer, and devote the sur-

plus to institutions like schools, which would raise the level of the generality without pauperizing any one.

When I reached this point the idea of a distinctive service—a distinctive service peremptorily imposed on me—stood out sharply. Shall I choose the life of a day-laborer and give my little fortune, such as it is, to a school? I have reason to think that I have a service to render in that direction myself. I have made a study of education. I have a certain fitness for the task. For the business of a mechanic or a farmer I have no fitness whatever. I should make the poorest kind of a success at it. Let me address myself to the task for which I am fit. Let me build up a school which shall stand for higher ideals than those that prevail, those that I should support if I gave my fortune to the schools now existing. Let me pull up humanity, at that end, making education mean more than it has ever yet meant. That is the burden, the duty, that is laid upon me. If I lived the life of a day-laborer I should not be able to do my particular stint, I should be derelict, not to my wishes, but my duty.

And the same is true of every one who has a certain specific fitness and preparation and training, of the head of a business who has organizing ability, of the artist, the real artist who has the gift, not the hundreds of others who delude themselves into the belief that they have it. It is true of every one who has the gift, the training. Let him stay at his post, let him promote human progress where he is. This is not an excuse for taking a mean advantage of one's advantages, that is to say, an excuse for selfish over-indulgence, for using more of his income for himself than is justified by the requirements of his task. It is still less an excuse for the drones in the hive; and it is not an excuse either for failing to combine with the community at large, in such matters as the abolition of the slums, in social legislation

and whatever will tend to make the conditions of the greater number more equitable. It is simply the application of the principle of service to the problem of one's immediate duty, which is to stay at one's post.

The temptation to equalize one's condition with the mass is sometimes extreme, especially at times when such sufferings as the world witnesses at present poignantly come home to one. We are giving liberally, many are, to the starving nations abroad. The latest calculation is that fifteen to twenty millions are in danger of starvation. Why should we not give more liberally? Why should we not strip ourselves to the bone, seeing that every dollar counts? The instinct of self-preservation, whispers the cynic, mere selfishness; he says you cannot get rid of it with all your ethics! If it is nothing more than that, then we are animals. No, we must stay at our post. We must do that service which is laid immediately upon us, which others cannot perform as well as we can, because we have the fitness, because we have the knowledge of the specific circumstances, because we have the closer affections which obligate us. But let us see to it that we do perform the service as those who by fortune and not by desert have the opportunity to render it, and that we practice, so far as is humanly possible to do so the simple life.

When a ship is in the grip of a storm the captain may not leave the bridge, the engineer may not leave his engine, the man at the wheel may not let go of the wheel. Suppose that a heavy sea tumbles over the decks, and washes away a man or men before his very eyes? The man at the wheel may not let go the wheel. He must stay at his post. Such is our position, rightly viewed, as I think, if we have the courage so to view it. It is not easy to take this view. We see men submerged as good as we are. We cannot now go to help them. We must stay at our post.

That the claims of the higher nature must not be surrendered to the claims of the lower constitutes one rule of preference; that the distinctive service takes precedence of any other human services that we might render, is the second main rule. But a third must now be added, namely a rule of preference as between the duties of the narrower sphere and of the wider spheres,—the duties that one owes to one's family, to one's vocation, to one's country, etc. Under ordinary circumstances, the duties of the narrower sphere take precedence. The family, the vocation, the state, are so many stages through which we pass on the way to our goal,—the development of the spiritual life within us. In each of these domains something is added to our spiritual education, our personality attains a certain additional growth. In each group we are placed in relation to a number of persons, and are to learn the ethical art of living fruitfully and harmoniously with such persons; and the wider the group, the more numerous and varied the lives with which we come into spiritual contact, the more advanced is our spiritual education. Each stage, like a class in school, prepares us for the next succeeding stage. And this is the reason why, under ordinary circumstances, the narrower group is to be preferred to the wider group. It is the initial stage through which we must pass in order to acquire the benefits of the succeeding stage.

On the other hand, whenever the very existence of the wider group is in peril, then we must prefer the wider group to the narrower—the *terminus ad quem* to the *terminus a quo*—since not to do so would be in effect to deny the spiritual use to be made of our experience on earth. Therefore, when the state is imperilled, we set aside the claims of our business, of our profession, we set aside the pathetic claims of wife and children, we give up if necessary our own individual existence

in order that the state may be saved. It is not that we sacrifice ourselves for the collectivity, it is rather that we assert our wider spiritual personality in the very act of giving up our temporal life.

And so, too, on occasions, one may have to sacrifice the claims of the family to those of one's vocation; for instance, when a minister of religion is no longer able honestly to teach the doctrines in which he formerly believed, he is bound to prefer the claims of his vocation to every lesser claim. His vocation is to teach the truth as he sincerely believes it. Religion is the very science of sincerity. The best good that a religious teacher can confer upon others is to be to them the very incarnation of sincerity. And he cannot fulfill this noble function if he knows that the voice with which he speaks is no longer clean. He may, by taking the course which intellectual honesty prescribes, expose his family to great privations. He may wound his friends, he may indeed suffer in a hundred ways, especially if he is well along in years and no longer able to adapt himself readily to a new career. But every other consideration must give way to the one that in such cases is supreme. The servant of truth in the inner life may not be untrue. The wider claim must be preferred to the narrower.

I am well aware that there are numberless special cases of so-called conflicting duties which demand special attention, and that the straits of conscience are incalculably varied. But I am fain to believe that the three points of view mentioned will be found useful. And what I have had most at heart to show is that we are not merely left to conjecture and peradventure in these difficulties, that there is an inner oracle whose deliverances we can learn to interpret, and that when we stand at the crossroads where the path divides there are signposts whose directions we may learn to read.

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TO THE MEMBERS OF THE ETHICAL SOCIETIES

The Standard in this month contains a report of the proceedings of the recent Conference of the American Ethical Union in Boston. This number has been distributed throughout the Societies so that all our members may share in what one of the delegates happily called the "advance in mutual understanding" which characterized the Conference. Attention is particularly invited to Mr. Gould's account of the interesting situation in the European Movement, and to a new statement of the aims of the Ethical Societies, which was presented to the Conference by Dr. Adler and appears on the opposite page.

In the reading of these articles prompt members to place their names for the subscription list of The Standard—which is the official publication of the American Societies—they will be assured of a continuity to keep in vital touch with the national and international movements in the Movement. Please send your name and one dollar for a year's subscription to the Office of the American Ethical Union, 10 West Sixty-Fourth Street, New York City.

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